Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-169
Thursday
30 August 1990

Daily Report
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FBIS-SOV-90-169 *30 August 1990*

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U.S. Chemical Arms Experts Visit Plants

LD3008094390 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT 30 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Evald Kessariyskiy]

[Text] A delegation of U.S. experts visited this city in the Gorkiy region, the largest chemical centre in Russia, from August 25-30 under a memorandum of understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The two sides are involved in a bilateral experiment on verification and data exchanges as a way of preparing a multilateral convention to ban chemical weapons.

The experiment is part of a bilateral agreement to destroy chemcial weapons and ban their manufacture, which was signed by the Soviet and U.S. President on June 1, 1990.

The U.S. visitors inspected special production facilities mothballed since the mid-1940's, which are to be dismantled in the near future, and studied chemical production at operating plants.

The delegation arrived in Dzerzhinsk from Chapayevsk, Kuibyshev region, the site of the Defence Ministry's training centre for destroying chemical warfare agents.

Petrovskiy's Geneva Meetings Reviewed

LD3008063290 Moscow TASS in English 0624 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—The Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate has issued the following report:

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, leader of the Soviet delegation to the 4th conference reviewing the operation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in Geneva, conferred there with Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson.

They discussed bilateral cooperation in the frameworks of the United Nations and other international organisations, paying special attention to the need to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Both sides expressed interest in the success of the forthcoming conference on the ecological revival of the Baltic Sea in Ronneby, Sweden.

Petrovskiy also held consultations with Mexican counterpart Mr. Rosenzweig on possibilities for broader bilateral interaction at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, the forthcoming UN General Assembly session and in other international forums.

Nitze Remarks on Arms Control Examined

LD2908125990 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT 29 Aug 90

[By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—Paul Nitze, a former adviser to the U.S. President and the secretary of state, said in a recent WASHINGTON POST article that the Soviet Union and the United States should take more bold action to reduce strategic offensive weapons. The article proposes the complete elimination of ground-based strategic missiles with multiple warheads while reducing the total number of warheads on strategic missiles to 5,000 units.

What can be said about these proposals? In the first place, the desire to defuse nuclear confronation is clearly positive. The Soviet Union has long been calling on nuclear weapons states to renounce these weapons completely. It has stated on more than one occasion its readiness to exclude nuclear weapons from any options of defence sufficiency and to develop its Armed Forces without reliance on nuclear weapons. However, this would only be the case if other nuclear powers embark on the same path along with the Soviet Union.

The basic points of the scientifically substantiated programme for the stage-by-stage reduction of nuclear weapons with their complete elimination by the year 2000 were set out in the January 15, 1986, statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The existing INF Treaty and the Soviet-U.S. treaty on strategic offensive weapons, currently being drafted in Geneva, fit organically into this programme. Moscow proposed to include in the programme of attaining a non-nuclear peace another intermediate stage—"minimum nuclear deterrence."

All this bears testimony to the fact that the Soviet Union will support proposals aimed at further reducing strategic nuclear arsenals. However, Nitze's proposals prompt a question: are they directed towards replacing reduction criteria that have been already elaborated in Geneva, or do they offer new criteria for the next stage of nuclear disarmament? This point has paramount significance.

Introducing new elements into the nearly finished treaty means significantly delaying its completion and returning to square one. Therefore the "new approach" proposed by the American expert can be considered only at the next stage of negotiations.

Speaking on the essence of these proposals, one can discern a desire to ensure unilateral advantages for the United States. Why should Nitze propose to eliminate only ground-based missiles with multiple warheads and leave aside sea-based missiles. It is known that most U.S. missiles are based at sea, while Soviet ones at land. Obviously, the rationale is that the USSR will have to

dramatically transform its strategic forces, "fit itself" into the American structure and spend additional money.

It would seem that if the need "to deter" each other remains, pending the complete destruction of nuclear weapons, this deterrence should be kept at a minimum level. But there should be no "double standards" in attaining such levels, and there should be equal security for both sides.

Conventional Arms Talks Progress Viewed

PM2908131590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel V. Nazarenko: "Without Vacation Is How Delegations of 23 Countries Are Working at Vienna Talks"]

[Text] Toward the end of this year—19 November—the leaders of the countries taking part in the CSCE will gather for a summit meeting in Paris. By the time it starts—such is the political will of the leaders of the 35 CSCE countries—the treaty on conventional armed forces on the continent should be ready for signing. The delegations of 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states have been working in the Austrian capital since March 1989 on its draft.

Quite a lot has been done in 18 months. Suffice it to say that according to experts' assessments approximately one-third of the text of the treaty itself and half the protocol on inspections are already ready. The agreement reached in June of this year between the sides on the levels of reduction for tanks and other armored equipment comprising the basis of the two military alliances' ground strength in Europe may be called the biggest success. These levels provide for the Warsaw Pact and NATO keeping 20,000 tanks each and not more than 30,000 armored vehicles, of which 18,000 will be infantry fighting vehicles and armored vehicles with heavy armaments (there should not be more than 1,500 of these) and the remainder should be armored personnel carriers.

It would seem that the breakthrough on the "tank salient" should have opened up an opportunity for the rapid settlement of other unresolved questions. But that has not happened. Moreover, counter to expectations the pace of work has declined. There is a threat that it will not finish in time. Time brooks no delay. That is why the participants in the Vienna forum decided to work "without a vacation." After a brief "technical" intermission concluding dialogue within the framework of the "Vienna-1" forum begins in Vienna's Hofburg Palace 27 August.

Indeed, how many complications and underwater reefs are contained in, for instance, a historically determined and natural process like Germany's reunification. It is proceeding at an accelerated pace and for that reason a whole series of problems is arising. One of them is how to achieve harmony between the setting of the level for the limitation on the numerical strength of a united Germany's armed forces and the talks process of the "23." A specific task has arisen—taking legal consideration of the accord between the USSR and the FRG on the reduction of the future German army's troops to 370,000 men within three to four years within the context of the Vienna talks. That is no simple matter. Germany's unification and its membership in NATO and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the GDR create a new military-political situation in Central Europe and raise in a different way questions concerning the balance of forces and interests of many states of this region. How to correlate these changes with the already existing conceptual framework of regional sublevels between the two groups of states taking part in the talks? It is clear that the answer to this question will require not only time but also inventiveness on the part of diplomats and military experts.

As we can see, the barriers on the path toward the speediest conclusion of the talks of the "23" are moved apart not by someone's evil will but directly by life itself, with its sometimes unpredictable turns. It is another matter that they complicate the disentangling of knots which appeared back at the early stage of the forum. For instance, the solution of the question of aviation has been dragged out. It has proceeded for a long time and with difficulty since virtually the actual start of the talks but, it is true, not without results. The head of the Soviet delegation, O. Grinevskiy, believes that recently a whole series of coinciding or essentially close elements have appeared in the positions of the sides, making it possible to speak of a possibility in principle of reaching compromise solutions. At any rate in his opinion as of today there is sufficient clarity as to which path leads to the solution of this problem and which drives it into an even deeper impasse.

Thus, for instance, the NATO countries are insisting that the treaty encompass not only air force combat aircraft but also ground-based naval aircraft. The West believes that these aircraft's exclusion from the agreement would lead to the point where hundreds of naval combat aircraft would not be subject to reduction. In turn the Soviet Union believes that if naval aircraft are included in the catalogue of categories of arms to be reduced then a certain proportion of carrier aircraft should also be put under the "knife." Logical? Undoubtedly.

And nonetheless to this day no mutually acceptable solution has been found. Why? The point is that NATO, particularly the United States, has far more carrier aircraft than the USSR. And they are strike aircraft. You cannot discount it in a reduction of the blocs' combat aircraft. The Soviet Union's concern on this plan may be understood.

Where then is the way out of the impasse which has taken shape? It should be sought in the mandate for the talks from which it stems that naval forces are not a subject for examination at the "Vienna-1" forum. As is

well known, back last year the Soviet Union suggested starting talks on the navies, but this initiative met with no support in NATO circles. The likelihood of reaching agreement on aircraft as a whole by the time the all-European summit starts will be slight unless the agreement properly reflects the USSR's geostrategic interests reflected in particular in the question of the level of limitation of air defense fighter-interceptors.

The Soviet Union proposes limiting the total number of Warsaw Pact and NATO combat aircraft to 4,700 each, establishing a separate ceiling of 1,500 fighter-interceptors. Here, of course, the level for air defense fighter aircraft should consist only of defensive aircraft and not of multiple-purpose aircraft of the fighter-bomber type. It is obviously within the framework of these conditions that we should seek a way out toward the mutually acceptable solution of the problem of combat aircraft.

As for combat helicopters, understanding has been reached on limiting these strike aircraft to 1,900 units and the text defining the concept "combat helicopter" may be said to have been basically agreed. There are differences on the question of establishing the level for artillery: NATO suggests a ceiling of 16,500 pieces and the Warsaw Pact a ceiling of 20,000.

The possibility of completing the talks on schedule also depends on whether questions of verifying the fulfillment of commitments for the implementation of the future treaty are successfully resolved within the next month or six weeks. Right now certain progress has been achieved in the field of creating an inspection mechanism. But the sides' views still differ on a number of important aspects. Here we must cite primarily the problem of determinin inspection quotas. The Soviet Union suggests proceeding from the number of facilities subject to verification. The West suggests proceeding from the number of arms to be reduced and the area of the territory of the signatory state. Essentially the area criterion establishes inequality between the participants. Thus, if one states has fewer armaments than another, by virtue of the "area factor" it will be obliged to accept a substantially larger number of on-site inspections.

Airborne inspections are designed to become an important component of the verification system. The sides' approaches toward the tasks of carrying out these inspections and their specific procedures largely coincide. The main difference is in the choice of the inspection aircraft. The NATO countries suggest using the aircraft of the inspecting state. The Soviet delegation has submitted for examination a compromise proposal whereby the right to choose the aircraft would remain with the state subject to inspection. That means that the person who carries out the airborne inspection can use an aircraft belonging to either the inspected or the inspecting side.

Discussion must be continued and a solution reached to the problem connected with the elaboration of a protocol on eliminating conventional arms and equipment. First of all we must determine how the military arsenals subject to reduction will be destroyed. Here all aspects—both technical and economic—must be considered. The task is to be certain as soon as possible about two basic questions: to agree on positions for reequipping part of the arms and equipment limited by the treaty for their further use for peaceful purposes and on the deadlines for destruction. The Soviet Union is prepared together with the other participants in the talks to gradually reduce the number of its combat aircraft, strike helicopters, and artillery systems to the agreed levels over two to three years from the moment the treaty enters into force. As for tanks and armored vehicles, here, considering the volumes of the reductions, more time will be needed—another two to three years. The NATO countries insist on the destruction of all categories of the sides' armaments in the region of their use within three years and have a negative attitude toward part of military equipment being made useless for combat before being destroyed at the final stage. We shall hope that the West will treat the Soviet position with understanding and will assess realistically the complexity of the tasks facing the USSR with regard to the destruction of conventional arms.

The concluding stage of the talks of the "23" will be a most real test for all delegations of the countries taking part, a serious check of the professional qualities of diplomats and experts and of their ability to display flexibility and constructiveness and to take sometimes difficult but necessary decisions. Time brooks no delay.

Chemical Weapon Destruction 'Example' to All

PM2908153990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondent V. Litovkin under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Correspondents on World Events": "The Same Security For All"]

[Text] An unexpected paradox: Whereas the production, stockpiling, and storage of chemical weapons was always a most closely guarded secret kept under seven seals, it suddenly transpires that it is impossible to destroy them without the closest cooperation and openness between all those who only recently were calling each other potential enemies.

The very logic of disarmament has prodded us toward a clear and precise understanding: Security cannot be Soviet, American, or anybody else's, but only common—the same for all mankind. It was as if this simple idea formed the backdrop to the two day visit by U.S. specialists to the Soviet chemical facility built last year not far from the city of Chapayevsk in Kuybyshev Oblast.

The facility was created as a plant for destroying chemical weapons equipped with organophosphorus chemical agents, but because of protests by local residents it was converted by a decision of the country's government into

a USSR Defense Ministry practice center for developing technology to eliminate chemical ammunition.

There are no chemical agents at the plant and there have never been any. Instruction and the development of technology are carried out on inert agents. But this process greatly interested the guests, and although they have already acquired a great deal of experience, they familiarized themselves in detail with the organization of work at our enterprise; put many questions to the specialists accompanying them from the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry, Ministry of Health, and Ministry of Defense; and photographed various installations, automated production lines, and subassemblies. And even in spare moments some of them asked the Soviet instructors to give them the opportunity of working a little longer at the control and instrument panels and in the laboratories or workshops. This opportunity was freely granted.

"I want to note the very high level of professionalism of the Soviet specialists accompanying us, and also of the personnel working at the plant," Dr. Robert P. Mikulak, leader of the U.S. delegation, said in an interview with IZVESTIYA's correspondent. "We saw everything that was of interest to us and received answers to all our questions.

"Our visit," he added, "is taking place within the framework of the agreement signed in Washington by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev and, I think, it will give us a good opportunity of finding common approaches to the problem of destroying chemical weapons. We have various methods of eliminating them, and such a frank exchange of experience and information facilitates better mutual understanding between the two sides."

I asked for his assessment of the plant's technological safety standard. The American answered that it is not easy for him to draw a definitive conclusion on this question after two days. After all, he is only one-half chemist and one-half diplomat, but the exchange of opinions with colleagues convinced him that Soviet specialists attach particular importance to making their technology safe for people and the environment because this is a problem that worries U.S. scientists just as greatly.

"We will have a return visit to a U.S. chemical weapons destruction plant on Johnston Atoll in the Pacific," Doctor of Technical Sciences, Major General I. Yevstafyev said. "And we will try not only to work out common approaches and a common language for carrying out future inspections on the progress of destroying chemical weapons, but also to employ the best practice of ensuring complete safety while doing so, and if agreement is reached then also to acquire U.S. equipment for eliminating chemical agents. Such talks are now in progress."

One security for all. The sooner this simple truth is grasped in the countries which use chemical weapons to frighten neighbors or threaten to use them, the more peaceful it will be for their peoples and for mankind as a whole. Soviet-U.S. cooperation in this sphere is a good example to everyone.

Shevardnadze's Upcoming Asian Tour Previewed

LD3008064190 Moscow TASS in English 0631 GMT 30 Aug 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will leave on Friday on working visits to China and North Korea and an official visit to Japan. He will also make a stop-over in Vladivostok, Soviet Far East, to address an international conference on "The Asian Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation."

The tour has riveted special international interest because it is taking place at an extremely difficult, even explosive moment in world history, amid the very acute crisis in the Persian Gulf following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The principled Soviet position on the issue is well known. The Soviet Union is making every effort to normalise the situation in the region and rally all forces to implement United Nations Security Council resolutions to resolve the crisis.

There is naturally the need to compare notes and ideas with the leaders, in particular, of Asian countries on what can be done and how to impel Iraq to move in the right direction, in keeping with international law and standards of civilized relations between states.

Important political changes have been taking place lately in the Asian Pacific Region as well as elsewhere in the world. Despite the complex and often contradictory nature of processes under way, the dominant trend is one of detente and stabilisation.

The obvious and wide-ranging rapprochement of the Soviet Union, the United States and European countries has prompted frequent comments to the effect that there are allegedly two centres in world politics, incorrectly leaving Asian and Pacific nations on the sidelines.

Soviet peace initiatives concerning the region, made, in particular, in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, are well known. The normalisation and development of Soviet-Chinese relations have played a key role in bringing about fundamental, positive shifts in the Asian situation. These tendencies have to be consolidated and carried forward.

In the present situation, it is also important to discuss with Korean friends the situation on the Korean peninsula, exchanging opinions and mapping out guildelines for interaction.

It can be said without exaggeration that the Soviet foreign minister is being avidly awaited in Japan: It is an open secret that the Soviet-Japanese talks will centre on President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan early next year.

There have been occasional reports in the international press alleging that the Soviet president has been "shying away from Tokyo": During the five years of Soviet perestroyka, Gorbachev has been to many countries, but not Japan.

The time has come to discuss how to elevate bilateral relations with the Japanese side. Although these relations rest on a solid legal base, the sides plan to discuss packages of further bilateral agreements concerning political consultatons, intellectual, humanitarian and cultural cooperation and space research.

There is no doubt that Shevardnadze's Asian tour will have far-reaching consequences in many respects for the continued enhancement of the Soviet Union's relations with the countries of the region and for an improvement in the situation both there and in the world as a whole.

Benefits of Affiliation to GATT Reviewed

PM3008093990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by A. Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations: "GATT: What Participation in It Will Mean for Us"]

[Text] In May this year the Soviet Union received observer status at GATT—the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The agreement itself went into force for the 23 original signatory countries on 1 January 1948. Its basic principle was laid down at that time, too: Namely, that world trade should develop according to economic laws and that no administrative, unjustified protectionist, or discriminatory methods of regulating it are allowed. And that principle has become universal. Evidence of that is provided by the increase in the number of states which have voluntarily affiliated to GATT. The number of full members has now risen to 98. A further 55 countries and 32 international organizations have observer status.

In the world community GATT is a prestigious and influential forum for multilateral and bilateral talks and consultations on trade and economic policy. Its participants grant one another most-favored-nation status while assuming commitments to refrain from restrictive measures of a nontariff character and to reduce customs tariffs. They coordinate the scale of tariff concessions and their introduction dates.

GATT's rules allow the creation of customs unions and free trade zones between states. The imposition of temporary restrictions on the import of specified commodities is allowed if that import would seriously harm national producers. There may also be quantitative import or export restrictions so as to restore the balance of payments equilibrium. Measures not covered by the agreement may be applied in order to protect public morals, health, and national assets and safeguard a country's security.

Assessing GATT's significance, it may be said that it performs the role of a world trade constitution. It is a repository of the wealth of experience of the operation of the foreign economic mechanism in market conditions, which will be very useful for the Soviet Union.

Until recently, our country had not sought to take part in GATT and, consequently, found itself isolated from the multilateral trade system formed on its basis in which uniform rules and principles replace the many bilateral treaties and agreements between member states. Here is a typical example. Experts have calculated the FRG would need to conclude around 5,000 bilateral trade and economic agreements with its partners were it not affiliated to GATT. Whereas our foreign trade department and sectoral ministries have spent decades compiling, coordinating among themselves, and signing with foreign states hundreds of bilateral intergovernmental and interdepartmental agreements and protocols and reported the increase in their number as though it were an achievement.

At the same time, nonparticipation in GATT for a country like the USSR weakens its universal character. Full membership of GATT would enable the Soviet Union to form its foreign trade relations on contractual-legal principles recognized by the world community and work on legal grounds for the abolition of the discriminatory measures operating against our country, in particular the quantitative restrictions holding back the expansion of Soviet industrial export to developed countries.

Under the statute adopted by GATT on the so-called "national regime," imported goods must not be subjected to discrimination in the form, for example, of taxation higher than that applied to goods produced within that country. Our observance of this statute would fundamentally influence the commodity structure of the market that is coming into being in the USSR. Soviet producers would be in the conditions of competition—within justified limits of course—created by foreign companies and firms. It is no secret that at present they trade in our country in extremely unfavorable conditions while our producers, enjoying a comfortable monopoly position, often produce low-quality output and set high monopolistic prices on it.

GATT's antidumping code would protect Soviet exporters from the unlawful actions of Western countries carried out ostensibly to counter an alleged deliberate understatement of prices for our export goods. It would be possible to cut foreign currency costs on the certification and testing of Soviet goods abroad, which in some cases amount to 10 or more percent of their export price. The use of the GATT members' procedures and mechanisms for settling disputes and trade and policy conflicts would also yield definite dividends. We would also be able to participate directly in elaborating new rules and norms of international trade.

Therefore, the advantages are obvious. But is must be clearly seen that the road to full partnership in GATT is not easy and will take considerable efforts from our country.

Take customs duties, for instance. Their real effect on the domestic prices of imported goods is minimal at present. Therefore, the customs tariff in our country is not an effective or realistic means of regulating foreign economic ties, as in other countries. Nor do foreign goods really have free access to the Soviet market. Until recently, decisions to purchase foreign goods were taken by the government on the basis of the plan targets set by the State Planning Committee while foreign trade associations executed directives handed down to them from above. It is pointless to talk about the supplier's freedom of choice in conditions of the nonconvertibility of the ruble.

We must substantially restructure the system of regulating foreign economic ties so that it corresponds to GATT's rules. In this connection the fundamentals of legislation on foreign economic activity are being elaborated, a draft law on a new customs tariff has been drawn up, and the existing and new nontariff regulations—quotas, subsidies, and so forth—are being brought into line with GATT's requirements. I can state that state foreign trade workers will not be left idle. However, their functions will change and the professional demands placed on them will increase.

A representative interdepartmental commission formed under the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations is studying the whole range of questions relating to the USSR's rapprochement with GATT. The commission's functions should presumably expand with our country's receipt of observer status. In particular, it could organize an expert study, including at international level, of the legislation in force and in preparation to determine how far it corresponds to the principles, norms, and practice of GATT. Therefore, all future draft legislative acts aimed at democratizing our economy, regulating foreign economic policy, and aimed at restructuring foreign economic ties should be examined by the USSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Supreme Soviet in the light of the conclusion of the interdepartmental commission on questions of GATT.

The foreign economic structures and mechanisms that are now coming into being in Russia, Belorussia, the Ukraine, and other Union republics must also be fashioned in the spirit of GATT from the very outset. Then there will be no need to restructure them at some later date. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Market Conditions are studying GATT's activity and accumulating the relevant information. We are ready to supply it to all interested organizations and give them professional advice.

The USSR's affiliation to GATT essentially opens up an opportunity to create a single worldwide "economic

space." Having received GATT observer status, our country has embarked on a kind of "training course." It is in our interests that it be accelerated. We will acquire "know how" of the market economy and its foreign economic techniques so as to quickly and efficiently overcome our chronic difficulties.

Barriers Seen to West German Investment in GDR

90UF0475A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Ye. Bovkun: "Contradictory Assessments"]

[Text] Bonn—I heard while traveling on the autobahn reports on local radio within several hours of each other of directly opposite content. In both cases it was a question of the GDR's economy.

The situation is improving, the West German participants in the first broadcast tried to show. Thousands of mixed enterprises have been quickly formed, Western companies are increasing their capital investments in various sectors of the economy, new supply lines have been laid, laws are being standardized, and the market mechanism is beginning to operate.

According to other estimates, it transpired that the GDR economy is on the verge of collapse. There are almost half a million unemployed in the country. The peasants are "sitting" on a record harvest inasmuch as the market has been filled by farm products from the FRG. In industry things are even worse: Production in the second quarter fell 9.5 percent, the best specialists have left for the West, the problem of selling the products has been exacerbated, and it has become difficult for it to compete with Western industry.

Better or worse? It all of course depends on one's point of view. The interests of the investor do not always coincide with those of the consumer, and the interests of the latter with those of the politician.

The divergence of interests is only one problem. Unexpected vacuums are taking shape in places where the two opposite systems meet. Could any of us have imagined empty shelves under capitalism? Such things are possible, apparently. The inhabitants of the Bavarian town of Kronach, for example, are currently complaining about this. Milk and vegetables are in short supply in the birthplace of the celebrated painter Lucas Cranach the Elder. And the secret is that Kronach is located not far from the border with the "still GDR," as this waning German state is called in Bonn. The inhabitants of localities "on the other side" prefer to purchase here the more costly, but on the other hand better quality products.

Attempting to do business in the GDR, industrialists and tradesmen from the FRG are constantly running into new problems. Of what kind? The German Chamber of Trade and Industry, headquartered in Bonn, has drawn up for businessmen an interesting document—a list of "shortcomings" of the present administrative-economic system of the GDR preventing business people from the West exercising investment policy.

Specialists of Bonn's Trade and Industry Chamber consider the main obstacle to the successful transition to market relations to be the shortage of industrial buildings and grounds, the majority of which remain state-owned or communal property.

A person acquiring a plot of land or an enterprise has to wait a long time for a decision by the court of registration. In addition, there is a shortage of public notaries in the GDR.

Many businessmen wishing to participate in the modernization of the GDR economy are being scared away by the demand that they present to the local authorities a long-term program of activity.

Others do not like having to bear the responsibility for the actions of the previous management of enterprises which was in breach of environmental protection requirements. A general code of nature-conservation orders regulating the terms of the old enterprises being made available to private owners came into force this July, it is true. But the local authorities, which do not accept legal claims from private persons, continue to have the decisive say. Until the GDR Government clearly determines who is financially responsible for clearing up the old factories, private investors will be unable to freely dispose of their capital.

As of 1 August this year a new principle of inspection of the enterprises for their "compatibility" with the environment began to operate in both parts of Germany, but the administration locally—both in the GDR and the FRG—has found itself unprepared for this.

Vagueness in the methods of valuing enterprise property is hampering the formulation of pricing policy.

Private investors are encountering tax difficulties. Their credit activity is complicated by the fact that there is a shortage of accountants and specialists in compiling balance sheets in the GDR.

Payments made by credit institutions of the GDR are being delayed and held up, which is reducing the enterprises' business activity.

The GDR telephone system, which is in a run-down state, is making intelligent business dealings impossible.

The transportation of merchandise to the GDR is being complicated inasmuch as there are no private traffic-control services there, and 90 percent of wholesale trade is organized by the state.

Experts of the German Trade and Industry Chamber believe that under such conditions distortions in the economy are inevitable.

The political leadership of the FRG and the Christian Democrats in the GDR headed by de Maiziere are also demanding decisive and most speedy measures in the interests of the market, but are sure that nothing dreadful will happen to the GDR economy. Whence the glowing political assessments and forecasts.

So the question of whether life in the GDR has become better or worse may be answered variously. One thing is clear: Capital has not begun to flow here by the communicating vessels method. Such an influx is secured by purely economic means. The GDR economy suffers from the same ailments as our enterprises. They lack competent, concerned people perfecting their skills in the solution of specific new problems. Managers and workers of the FRG have such experience. And it would come in very useful not only in the GDR.

China

Pilot Who Attempted To Defect Sent to Beijing

PM2908153190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by Yu. Balakirev and N. Burbyga under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "Chinese Pilot and MiG-19 Returned"]

[Excerpts] Vladivostok-Moscow—At 1130 hours local time on 29 August a Tu-154 belonging to a Chinese air company and bearing the tail number B2612 landed at Vladivostok airport after a flight from Beijing. The appearance of the PRC liner at an airfield that does not take foreign aircraft is connected with the extraordinary incident of last Saturday (IZVESTIYA No. 240).

We will remind you: On Saturday 25 August a Chinese Air Force Fighter, having violated USSR airspace, landed at Vladivostok. [passage omitted]

PRC representatives put the pilot on board the Tu-154 which had flown in specially from Beijing. At the same time the "visiting" MiG-19 bearing the tail number 20520 was refueled. Our aviators showed the pilot who was to take this aircraft back to his airfield in China the weather map: The weather in the region was clearly deteriorating. At 1340 Vladivostok time the fighter took off and headed for the border. The Tu-154, carrying the border violator in its passenger cabin and the fighter's combat load in its baggage compartment, followed it home. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze, PRC Counterpart Meet on Ties

LD3008101990 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Beijing August 30 TASS—Soviet and Chinese Foreign Ministers Eduard Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen will discuss bilateral relations, the Gulf crisis, a Cambodian settlement and other issues of mutual interest during their working meeting on 1 September in Harbin, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Li Jinghua told a briefing today.

PRC Court Said To Order Official's Execution

OW3008012090 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] In China, another official has been punished severely for taking bribes. Wuhan city's local external affairs bureau director was executed. He was sentenced to death by the PRC Supreme People's Court for accepting bribes totalling 228,000 yuan or $48,000. Another senior official on the lam was arrested in Sichuan Province. His activities as vice chairman of the Sichuan Provincial Science and Industry Commission and general manager of an import and export company had caused losses totaling HK$6 million to the province's treasury.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze Receives Japanese Envoy 29 Aug

LD2908171190 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today received the Japanese ambassador to the USSR, Sumio Edamuru, at the latter's request.

They discussed Shevardnadze's forthcoming visit to Japan and Soviet-Japanese relations, as well as pressing international issues of mutual interest.

DPRK Attache Speaks at Friendship Meeting

SK2908075690 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Speech by Kim Kyong-chon, military attache at the DPRK Embassy in the USSR, at a meeting of activists of the Soviet-DPRK Friendship Society and Soviet veterans of the Korean liberation war held at Friendship Hall in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] I sincerely thank you for your kind words. We are very pleased and honored to meet today with old soldiers who participated in the Korean liberation war and with activists of the friendship society on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Korea's liberation.

As the old soldiers who participated in the Korean liberation war have just said, Korea's liberation was a significant event in our history. Because they were liberated from the Japanese imperialists' colonial rule, our people were able to start on the road to building a new society. Also, as the old soldiers have said, the excellent sons and daughters of the Soviet Union participated in combat to liberate Korea and sacrificed themselves. We constantly remember the spirit of sacrifice that Soviet heroes and soldiers showed in liberating Korea and are very grateful. Further strengthening and developing the relations of friendship, which were forced [word indistinct] between the two countries, is the consistent stand of our party and government and our people's constant desire.

North Korean Naval Ship Continues Visit

SK2908121390 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 27 Aug 90

[From the "Asian News" program]

[Text] A DPRK naval flotilla is staying at Vladivostok for the third day. The visit is taking place in a very hospitable atmosphere.

"The ocean does not separate us, but rather encourages us to approach each other. The ocean between us serves as a bridge of reciprocity between the (?citizens)," Vice Admiral Kwon Sang-ho said at a news conference.

During the three-day visit by the sailors of the Korean Navy to the coastal kray, various activities took place that were not on the official schedule for the visit. The guests visited enterprises in Vladivostok and saw the everyday activities of the coastal kray residents. The residents and guests inspected the DPRK flotilla.

Korean sailors today visited the Sixth Naval Squadron Unit affiliated with the Pacific Fleet. The guests laid [words indistinct] wreaths at the commemorative hall known as "The Militant Honor of the Pacific Fleet."

Reporter Discusses ROK Economic Situation

SK2908075290 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 25 Aug 90

[From "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] A PRAVDA reporter recently visited the ROK. His article on impressions of his trip was carried in this Soviet newspaper.

He talked with Kim In-ku, vice minister of [word indistinct]. He explained how the ROK solved economic problems after the war:

First of all, we tried to halt inflation. The postwar inflation was enormous.

He went on to say: Manufacturing mass-consumption goods by using foreign loans and economic assistance was one of (?our tactics). Our currency was revaluated on a few occasions. As a result, the won became a currency unit up to the world standard. Other important measures were that banks obtained the right to sell foreign currency, that exports were encouraged, and that heavy tariffs were levied on imports. Also, the establishment of private companies, the establishment of the infrastructure and superstructure of the economy, and the purchase of technological processes were effective.

He continued: The country was laden with a mountain of foreign debts. However, when our industrial goods gained competitiveness, our debts began to decrease. [passage indistinct]

Referring to the ROK's current situation, the PRAVDA reporter pointed out that the ROK economy faces many problems. First of all, exports have decreased. Exports were the engine of the ROK's economic growth. An advantage that ROK exports enjoyed was low prices. However, the ROK is losing such an advantage. For example, Hyundai cars that have sold well are only five to six percent cheaper than Japanese cars. As a result, exports have decreased. As the Western countries and, in particular, European countries have adopted a stiffer protectionist tariff system, the exports of ROK goods have been hurt. What measures is the ROK mapping out under these complicated circumstances?

Yi Pil-kon, chairman of the Samsung Group, the ROK's large business group, answered: The competitiveness of goods must improve. New capital investment is necessary to this end, and new technological processes must be developed. Such processes must also be purchased, and, at the same time, we must make efforts to invent such processes. [passage indistinct]

How will you be able to escape from the EC's extreme measures? The chairman answered: We must enter [word indistinct] market after (?1991). Toward this end, we must establish many joint-venture companies and increase our investment in European countries.

How will the social conflicts be resolved? He answered: We must assume a reasonable attitude in which both one side's demands and the other side's concessions are considered. Otherwise, the economy will be ruined and then the country will be ruined.

New Law Prompts Change in Korean Paper's Name

SK2908071890 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Talk by Cho Yong-hwan, chief editor of LENIN KICHI (LENIN'S BANNER), Korean-language newspaper published in Alma Ata—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Our newspaper company will reorganize its operation according to the recently promulgated new Soviet law on publications and other mass media. Our newspaper will change its name from LENIN KICHI to KORYO ILBO from 1991. This is in step with the spirit of restructuring. We will publish our newspaper not only for our Korean people in the Soviet Union but also people in the DPRK and the ROK and our compatriots in Japan, China, and the United States. [passage omitted]

Status of U.S. Troops in ROK Discussed

SK3008110690 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 28 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] After long talks, Seoul and Washington have finally come to agree to talk about the status of the U.S. military units in South Korea.

According to YONHAP, in particular, South Korea's judicial authority will be upgraded in dealing with U.S. soldiers' offenses, and customs inspections will be further strengthened over the packages brought in by U.S. soldiers.

In connection with this, our station commentator Sergey Petrov says:

As in many other countries where U.S. Forces are present, U.S. troops are not accountable for their offenses in South Korea either. In other words, they are extraterritorial. They are treated not as military personnel but as diplomats.

What should be particularly noted in this connection is that this status of the U.S. troops is guaranteed under the mutual agreement between the U.S. Government and the government of a country which allows the presence of U.S. military bases on its territory.

The only exceptions are crimes which jeopardize law and order, and are murder, robbery, and rape. It is noteworthy that the list of offenses excludes drug dealing, hooliganism, smuggling, and other sorts of criminal offenses which symbolize U.S. soldiers' violations.

Considering the fact that many U.S. troops are present in foreign countries, it is clear that the issue is not a negligible one. South Korean newspapers and publications have argued the issue more than once. The issue is actually one of the strongest reasons against the presence of the U.S. troops in South Korea.

These days, when military tension is being alleviated and the international situation is becoming mild, the question of the U.S. Forces' defensive role in South Korea has also become less significant.

Under these circumstances, Seoul in 1988 had to begin with Washington to talk about the status of the U.S. Forces in South Korea.

Now, the agreement which has been reached between Seoul and Washington, needless to say, will lessen to some degree the tension in the relations between the South Korean social circles and their government.

With regard to the agreement, I would like to note some aspects which are not insignificant.

For example, restrictions over strikes by South Korean workers employed by the U.S. military units will be lifted. In addition, South Koreans will be able to appeal to higher courts, if they are not satisfied with judicial decisions over Americans.

However, it is still too early to say that all the issues have been settled.

Since the cease-fire, all U.S. Forces in South Korea and their nuclear weapons have never been placed under the control of the South Korean Government.

Accordingly, South Korea's jurisdiction and authority will be limited only to dealing with offenses by U.S. men and officers, and will not be exercised over political matters.

In my opinion, one solution is the complete withdrawal of the U.S. Forces from the Korean peninsula, and it would provide an opportunity for the people of North and South Korea—the real masters of Korea—to realize their homogeneity.

Dramatic Changes in Mongolia Follow Elections

PM3008101590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondent A. Krivel under the rubric "Mongolia Today": "Changing Directions"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, Moscow—The fabled eternally blue skies of Mongolia filled with storm clouds—which does not happen very often here. Then, suddenly, the rain came down in torrents. Not the ordinary summer rain, to which everyone is long accustomed, but a real downpour. Something unprecedented was happening: It was as if a wall of water were falling from the skies to the ground below. In 10 minutes the streets and squares of the capital were covered with half a meter of water—and in some places it was even deeper. It poured down, washing away everything in its path....

Something similar has happened in 1990 in the life of this ancient and eternally youthful country (the reader will forgive me this banality, because it is true that more than two-thirds of Mongolia's population is under 35 years of age).

Since the New Year, Mongolia has been cleansing itself of the filth, vileness, stagnation, and other evils that had been accumulating for decades, even centuries. To cries of exultation the former jail at Battsagan [name as received] came down, smashed by rough blocks suspended from cranes....

A symptomatic incident, although not tremendously significant. More important things have happened. The June plenum of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee, elected at an extraordinary congress, sharply condemned the activity of former party and state leaders. It seems that they not only ran the country badly but also behaved unethically. A large number of Politburo members who had spent years ensconced in government house were expelled from the party for flagrantly violating party ethics and discipline and damaging the party's prestige, while others were given strong warnings. The statute adopted at the extraordinary congress enshrines guarantees ruling out any possible revival of a leader cult or authoritarian style. Memorials to I.V. Stalin have been pulled down.

The MPRP has renounced its monopoly on power. The appropriate changes have been made to the constitution. A multiparty system has been proclaimed and is now a reality in Mongolia. Six parties are officially registered in the country. They all took part in the elections to the People's Great Hural and local hurals, which were conducted on a multimandate basis for the first time in Mongolia's history.

Turbulent changes have begun in society. People in Mongolia are saying that there have never been so many congresses in such a short space of time. Indeed, more than 20 have been held since the beginning of the year: the MPRP congress and the constituent congresses of the

Mongolian National Progress Party, the Free Labor Party, the Mongolian Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Green Party. This dynamic chain has now extended to other social organizations. Congresses and report meetings are being held and everywhere new leaders are being elected. The leaders of trade unions, the Writers' Union, the Artists' Union, the Journalists' Union, women's organizations, the "Knowledge" Society, and the National Olympic Committee have all resigned. Even the lamas at the Gandantegchinling [name as published] Monastery and the Buddhist clergy in Ulaanbaatar have called a conference and elected a new head.

Assessments of the situation in the country speak for themselves. Some believe that society is in a state of profound crisis while others believe that it is on the brink of crisis. As we can see, there are no great differences of opinion. The country's economy is certainly ailing: It has transpired that it is inefficient and incapable of ensuring extended reproduction independently, without foreign investment, that it has no modern sectoral structure, and that there is an obvious imbalance in foreign trade....

Social problems have been mounting up for years: low wages a shortage of consumer goods, a housing waiting list that gets longer every year, and the more recent but growing phenomenon of unemployment—particularly among young people. This list could also include the neglect of Mongolian culture, a cult of higher authority, suspicion, apathy, and parasitism, which are all fairly widespread among the population.

It was among young people that informal movements first arose and new parties formed. Their program demands for radical changes to economic policy were joined by political clauses: the introduction of a multiparty system and political pluralism and the institution of presidential rule.

"The situation in the country," B. Altangerel, a member of the party's former Central Committee Politburo, said during a meeting, "was explosive. The disease, which had been driven inward, needed urgent, radical treatment. That treatment has now begun."

Emotions reached their peak in March. There were vast demonstrations, rallies, and hunger strikes. The entire MPRP Central Committee Politburo and Mongolian government resigned. New people took over the leadership.

"The extraordinary MPRP congress held in April," L. Tudev, member of the MPRP Central Committee Presidium and chief editor of the newspaper UNEN, said, "adopted program documents which state that Mongolian society has embarked on a historically crucial path of eliminating serious deformations and making the transition to humane, democratic socialism. The MPRP has confirmed its desire to cooperate with any political formations which set themselves the goal of building a humane, democratic society. These plans now have to be put into action. There is an enormous amount of work to be done. Take the party and young people, for example. We have neglected this area in the past, just as we have neglected collaboration with the intelligentsia, which is how we have come to be known as 'the party of old men.' The average age of party members used to be 47."

A strong torrent of renewal is sweeping every sphere. The transition to a market economy has begun. A genuine revival of Mongolia's cultural heritage and a new attitude to religion are apparent in the sphere of culture, art, education, and science. Other landmarks on this path include a return to the old literature, a review of the historical role played by Genghis Khan, broad celebration of the 750th anniversary of the "Secret Sayings," and a new appraisal of unique examples of Mongolian art such as classical literature and the national style of painting known as zurag.

It is still too early, however, to say that this is leading straight to an improvement in the situation in Mongolia.

"The slogan of turning Mongolia into the fifth 'Asian tiger' is now very fashionable in our country, particularly among young people," Sumennasangiyn Osor [name as published], a historian friend of mine, said. "I am wholeheartedly in favor of this. But I would like to ask young people why we do not overcome—even cauterize—our indiscipline, conceit, unreliability, and frivolous attitude to housing and equipment? Staging rallies is not enough: We need to work very long and hard, otherwise we will turn into a 'pussy cat' rather than a 'tiger.'

"I often hear critical comments which come down to the fact that condemning our own history, deriding individual episodes in it, and generally slinging mud is easy, whereas building a new Mongolia is far more difficult. Unfortunately, there is barely any mention in the new parties' program documents of how this is to be done...."

The rain poured down for six days immediately after the state holiday of Nadom in Mongolia this summer. Rivulets became powerful torrents: The Tola, which has been low in recent years, looked like the turbulent Selenge. The Orhon and Kerulen burst their banks. The roaring floods churned up the earth and swept everything from their path, carving completely new channels for the rivers. Friendly Mongolia, so familiar to us and yet now so different, is also seeking new directions.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

TASS Views Cambodian Settlement Prospects

LD2908183890 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 29 Aug 90

[By TASS political analyst Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—There is no denying that a long-overdue settlement in Cambodia now depends only on the warring Cambodian sides. The outcome of the process now hinges on their ability to

overcome mutual mistrust and begin the practical implementation of agreements reached in Tokyo two months ago. If they fail, prospects for a settlement will once again take a nosedive.

The successful sixth meeting of representatives of the five permanent Security Council member-countries in New York worked out the basic documents setting up a framework for a Cambodian settlement.

This framework encompasses political, military and legal aspects of the settlement and problems relating to the preparation and the holding of elections, international guarantees of the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity, national unity and non-aligned status.

During their meeting in Indonesia on Tuesday, President Suharto of Indonesia and Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore said that the documents would facilitate agreement between all Cambodian sides.

The settlement of internal disputes could have been accomplished in time for the previous, fifth meeting of the five in Paris, due to the agreement, worked out in Tokyo, to create a supreme national council to govern the country during the transition period.

The Khmer Rouge is to blame for letting the chance slip, as they refused to sign the joint communique with the other parties.

The world community was unanimous in condemning the behaviour of the Khmer Rouge, which sought to turn political dialogue into military confrontation. This condemnation prompted the U.S. decision to revoke its support for the opposition and begin direct talks with Hanoi and Phnom Penh.

During his visit to Indonesia, Chinese Premier Li Peng, responding to the call from Jakarta to talk the Cambodian opposition into looking for peaceful ways to solve the issue, said that China would no longer provide military assistance to Cambodian opposition groups, including the Khmer Rouge, if other countries halt their arms supplies to the warring forces.

The pressure from the world community proved decisive. A recent meeting of Cambodian opposition groups in Beijing adopted a statement welcoming the convocation by the chairmen of the international conference on Cambodia of a quadrilateral meeting of Cambodian parties in Jakarta to establish a supreme national council. It pledged full support for the Security Council permanent members' activity on Cambodia and declared that the documents approved by the five formed the basis for a comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia.

Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen said the forthcoming meeting in Jakarta would become the new supreme council's first sesson. This session could be much more productive if all Cambodian parties stopped their military activities in time for the meeting. This was the message from the participants in the sixth meeting of the five who have submitted the documents they worked out to the consideration by the forthcoming Jakarta meeting of the four Cambodian parties.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Says Gulf Solutions 'Not Exhausted'

LD3008101290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 30 Aug 90

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Aug (TASS)—Political ways of dealing with the Near East crisis have not been exhausted, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev said today in an interview for the PARIS MATCH magazine, which is published today in the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.

The interview was intended for a special issue of the weekly in French and English, which is being prepared by the editorial office of the magazine in conjunction with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.

In Mikhail Gorbachev's view, everything has to be done to prevent the Persian Gulf crisis moving into another, more acute, phase. "Even in my experience of perestroyka at home I have often come up against the kind of situation where it seemed that one could perhaps take sharper measures so as not to be accused of being weak. However, in the course of perestroyka we have always sought to avoid division and confrontation in society. We have always relied on political methods."

The USSR president notes that "in international affairs, too, one should not act for the sake of prestige and take the most extreme measures. This would be a short-sighted policy. We must seek out collective approaches and ways of dealing with things and normalizing the situation, acting together.

"I think we should carry on cooperating within the framework of the United Nations, actively cooperating with the Arab countries—they can and must play their own role.

The USSR and France both have such opportunities in their contacts with the present Iraqi regime. We are not shirking our responsibility. We will make use of all our opportunities," Mikhail Gorbachev stressed.

Shevardnadze Appeals to Arab Foreign Ministers

LD3008121190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1142 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 30 Aug (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze made an urgent verbal appeal on Wednesday to the foreign ministers of Arab states.

His appeal points out that averting an armed explosion in the Middle East region, which would have incalculable and most severe consequences for the whole world,

depends to a tremendous degree on the ability of the Arabs to rally at this critical moment and to work out a common line of action.

The appeal stresses the need to increase efforts to search for a political settlement to the conflict in the Persian Gulf region and prevent it from escalating into an open clash.

Shevardnadze Meets Yemeni Counterpart 29 Aug

Need To Halt Escalation

LD2908200290 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met Yemeni Foreign Minister 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani here today.

During the conversation, which was held in a constructive friendly atmosphere, the sides considered the critical situation in the Gulf region and the Middle East as a whole.

The ministers stressed the need for mobilizing efforts to prevent the crisis from escalating. The Arab countries and their regional organisation—the Arab League, have a special role to play in this and in the unblocking of the crisis.

Shevardnadze pointed out that the measures taken by the U.N. Security Council in connection with the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, including Resolution 665 approved on August 25, expressed the determination of the world community to work towards the restoration of Kuwaiti sovereignty.

Following the approval of Resolution 665 by the U.N. Security Council, diplomatic efforts have been stepped up to pull the region out of the crisis.

It is now up to Iraq to express its readiness to withdraw troops from Kuwait.

The two ministers noted with concern that foreign nationals are still held in Iraq and Kuwait against their will. The Soviet Union and Yemen stressed the need to ensure respect for human rights and the unhindered return of foreign nationals to their countries.

The ministers praised the state and prospects for the development of Soviet-Yemeni relations.

'Peaceful Solution' Sought

LD2908180490 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] The foreign minister of the Yemen Republic, Dr. 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani, left Moscow today after a brief working visit. In the course of the visit he held talks at the Soviet Foreign Ministry on the current situation in the Gulf. The Yemeni foreign minister had a meeting with his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze. Before his departure, the Yemeni foreign minister made a statement to our correspondent Sergey Yevgenyev.

[Begin recording] [Yevgenyev, in Arabic] It is a happy occasion to greet you in the Soviet Union. Is it possible to talk a little about the purpose of your visit to the Soviet Union and the result of your talks in Moscow?

[Iryani] Many thanks. I came to the Soviet Union at the instruction of the Yemeni political leadership for discussion and consultation with Minister Shevardnadze on the deep-rooted bilateral relations between Yemen and the friendly Soviet Union, and on the recent developments in the Gulf and Arabian peninsula region. The meetings were very fruitful, and views were in harmony and identical to a large extent. The most important thing is that we are both fully convinced that a peaceful solution is the only way out for the region from falling into military destruction. I think that the results provide a new and strong impetus for the Yemeni leadership. These results will provide a strong impetus for continuing the efforts made since the outbreak of the crisis for a peaceful solution. [end recording]

Belogonov Meets With Foreign Officials on Gulf

Meets PRC Charge d'Affaires

OW2908174490 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Soviet Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Belonogov received Chinese Charge D'Affaires Ad Interim Zhang Zhen on 28 August.

The Chinese diplomat handed him a message which Chinese Foreign Affairs Minister Qian Qichen asked Zhang Zhen to give to Shevardnaze in connection with the Gulf crisis.

(?The message) stresses that the permanent members of the UN Security Council have special responsibilities in safeguarding peace, and that their mutual understanding and cooperation have very great significance.

The Chinese side notes with satisfaction that China and the Soviet Union share completely identical point of view toward the situation in the Persian Gulf.

Receives Iraqi Ambassador

PM2908215390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS "Official Report"]

[Text] On 28 August A.M. Belonogov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, received Zhang Zheng, PRC charge d'affaires in the Soviet Union. The Chinese diplomat conveyed a verbal message from Foreign Minister Qian Qichen for E.A. Shevardnadze in connection with the crisis on the Persian Gulf.

The Soviet side stressed the great importance that is attached here to mutual understanding and cooperation

among the permanent members of the UN Security Council in view of the special responsibility they bear for maintaining international peace. The virtually total coincidence of Soviet and Chinese positions on the situation in the Persian Gulf was noted with satisfaction.

A.M. Belonogov also received Iraqi Ambassador to the USSR Q.J. Husayn. During the conversation attention focused on the question of the evacuation of Soviet citizens from Iraq. Various aspects of the situation in the Persian Gulf region were discussed.

Mideast Envoy Exchanges Views With 'Arafat

LD3008082890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0735 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Tunis, 30 Aug (TASS)—On Wednesday [29 August], Tunisian Prime Minister H. Karoui received M.D. Sytenko, special representative of the Soviet leadership. An exchange of views on the situation in the Persian Gulf was held. The sides called for diplomatic efforts to be stepped up in the Arab and international arenas in order to break the stalemate in the conflict through political means.

On the same day, M.D. Sytenko met with Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. During the conversation, attention was paid to the importance of stepping up Arab and international efforts to prevent a military flare-up in the Persian Gulf region, and to achieve a settlement of the Iraqi-Kuwait conflict through political means based on the fulfilment of UN Security Council resolutions. The sides agreed to continue contacts for the purposes of coordinating positions in the interests of restoring peace and stability in the Persian Gulf zone and in the Middle East in general.

The Soviet representative also visited the headquarters of the Arab League states, where he talked with A. al-Asad, assistant secretary general of the organization.

Commercial Activity With Iraq Halted

PM2908214990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 90 First Edition p 4

[Report by Yu. Stroyev: "Zero Trade"]

[Text] The telephone is ringing constantly in the office of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Soviet-Iraqi Permanent Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. "I have just been told," the commission's executive secretary, Boris Mikhaylovich Agafonov, said, putting down the telephone, "that the evacuation of Soviet citizens, primarily women and children, is taking place in an orderly manner and according to plan."

In order to carry out the international decisions on sanctions against Iraq, B.M. Agafonov continued, we are faced with the task of reducing the number of Soviet experts in the country as much as possible. Deliveries of goods under export and import deals, including special goods and also equipment, supplies, spare parts, and other items that are required for work at investment projects have all been stopped. Since the adoption of the 6 August 1990 UN Security Council decision on sanctions not one ship has left a USSR port carrying goods or any other products for Iraq or Kuwait. Two ships carrying freight for Iraq, which were already en route, were stopped and brought back. All other commercial activity has been halted and trade exchange has been reduced to zero.

As for our economic cooperation, we are continuing to operate at existing projects if we have experts and material and technical resources there. This is not a violation of UN Security Council sanctions, since we are not conducting any commercial activities at all. Incidentally, 3,000 Poles, over 500 Czechs, 600 Bulgarians, and 10,000 Yugoslavs, Chinese, Romanians, Japanese, and Brazilians are continuing to work in Iraq, aside from nearly 6,500 Soviet citizens....

[Stroyev] What effect has the Persian Gulf crisis had on our country and what are the prospects?

[Agafonov] Let us look at the figures for this year. An intergovernmental protocol was signed with Iraq, whereby it would pay us, for trade deals, the equivalent of $1.6 billion in oil, as well as $350 million in cash, which is approximately equivalent to 10.5 million tonnes of oil. We managed to get only 6.5 million tonnes oil and $46 million.

According to the data we have, Iraq is prepared to settle accounts. But this is impossible since Iraqi assets have been frozen in the U.S. banks through which we conduct all transactions. Undoubtedly the Persian Gulf crisis will affect not only our interests, but the interests of other countries represented in the Iraqi market.

As for the future, Iraq remains a large and potentially profitable market and it is highly solvent. We have always developed our economic relations on a purely commercial basis. By supplying goods and equipment we have received hard currency and oil. That is no secret. It is no secret either that practically all the developed states in the world are represented in the Iraqi market in one degree or another. That is why the world community is interested in a political settlement of the conflict.

Evacuation of Citizens From Iraq Continues

LD3008124190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpt] A third group of Soviet women and children is expected to arrive from Iraq tomorrow. It has been confirmed that there is now no trade with Iraq, which was one of our major trading partner in the past. However, Soviet specialists continue working at installations which are already operational. [passage omitted]

Kuwaiti Envoy on Iraq's Annexation, Aggression

LD2908200590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Interview with Kuwaiti Ambassador 'Abd-al-Moshen Yusuf al-Du'ayj by Ashot Nasibov at the Kuwaiti Embassy in Moscow on 28 August; statements by Al-Du'ayj in Arabic, fading into Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Nasibov] Mr. Ambassador, what comment would you make on the Soviet Union's position on a settlement of the conflict in the Persian Gulf?

[Al-Du'ayj] We should very much like to thank the Soviet Union for its position on Resolution 665 of the UN Security Council. This is a positive position, but in our view nothing prevents the Soviet Union from taking more decisive steps regarding the crisis if the economic blockade of Iraq does not achieve its aim. It was a step taken by the Soviet Union as a state responsible for the preservation of global peace, and we are grateful to it for this. One would like to point out that by supporting the UN resolution, the Soviet Union did not give Iraq the opportunity to set the two great powers at loggerheads. We are sure that if the decisions of the Security Council are not implemented, the Soviet Union will act in accordance with point 42 of the UN Charter, and its example will be followed by other states, too. Our Soviet friends have been continually telling us that they precisely prefer a stage-by-stage method of implementation of the resolution. If it has not possible to implement the first, then a second should be adopted.

[Nasibov] Mr. Ambassador, what is the latest news from your homeland?

[Al-Du'ayj] The Iraqi occupation continues. The robberies continue. People are fleeing the country, and more and more military units are entering it. The process of resistance and the movement for the liberation of Kuwait is taking definite shape. Initially, after the aggression, there was panic in the country and people could not comprehend the situation. And the latest news is from Arab students who just returned from Kuwait; they say that many young Iraqi soldiers realize the senselessness of the war, its fratricidal nature. They hide in Kuwaiti houses, hide their weapons, and even sell them; say, a submachine gun for 20 dinars, a tank for 50, just to get rid of the weapons.

In the Soviet press it was reported that 12 Iraqi soldiers escaped from Kuwait to Saudi Arabia and asked for political asylum there. This process continues on a considerably larger scale. Yes, many Iraqi soldiers are expressing discontent. But that does not mean they are traitors. The soldiers are beginning to realize that they are fighting against a fraternal Arab people and against a very small country. Moreover the resistance movement is by now of an organized nature, and its is historically well-known that it is very difficult for any army to resist local inhabitants waging guerrilla warfare against it. So, the Iraqi soldier is asking himself what he was fighting for when he fought against Iran for eight years. Because in the end it turned out that the war was not necessary and that Iraq agreed to the Iran-Iraq agreements of 1975. Now the soldiers are being moved from that front to another, against a neighboring Arab country, and the military men cannot understand what is going on.

I would like to explain here to our esteemed listeners that if some people think about war as an action by the poor against the rich, then they are deeply mistaken. The point is that, as a country, Iraq is much richer than Kuwait.

In what way do we differ from Iraq? Both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have used their wealth for the all-round development of the new generation, the younger generation of their citizens, for the development of their country. For example, our neighbor Saudi Arabia has expended $800 billion on such aims. Kuwait constantly sets aside a proportion of its income for a fund for the next generation. No one has the right to touch this money,. I would like to say that Kuwait's contributions cover 90 percent of the funds of the Arab League. And 20 percent of Kuwait's income goes into the fund to help Arab states and the poor countries of the world, and there is no Arab country which would not have used money from that fund; Iraq, itself, is a client of it.

Our amir—his opinion coincides with the opinion of President Gorbachev—spoke at the United Nations two years ago about the debts of the developing countries and called for the annulling of all of the Third World's debts, and this is in spite of the fact that Kuwait is a creditor country.

Iraq has the largest reserves of oil in the world after Saudi Arabia. Well, the difference between the two countries is only two percent. Let us look at how Saddam Husayn has spent the income over the past 20 years. We are not prevailing any secrets. All of this data is well known. Baghdad spent $240 billion on the Iran-Iraq war. Before the war it had reserves of $90 billion. All of this was spent. Iraq now has debts of $85 billion. One can calculate how much the country spent and how much it had. Its expenditures also include the aid given by the Arab countries to Iraq, aid which was non-repayable.

I would even say that it was precisely our money which paid for the Soviet weapons which were supplied to Iraq. All the country's income during the years of the Iraq-Iran war went toward armaments. President Saddam Husayn even collected from his citizens gold ornaments and valuables in order to use the money to buy weapons. And every year, this man organized in all the embassies abroad luxurious celebrations for his birthday. As ambassador of Kuwait I did not attend these receptions on principle. Thus, he spent all his riches on the war with Iran, on luxurious receptions, and so on, and this at a time when we were displaying concern for our citizens. That is the difference between the wealth of our country and the wealth of Iraq.

Baghdad invested its capital in armaments, in capacities to produce chemical weapons. It invested money in the annihilation of its own people. But we expended our money on the construction of our own country, on improving people's lives.

[Nasibov] Jordan and the USSR were the first to implement Iraq's decision and cease the activity of their embassies in Kuwait. How would you comment on such a development of events?

[Al-Du'ayj] The USSR is a country which knows how to act in various situations. And it only remains for us to respect what the USSR undertakes. The USSR's decision to close its embassy in Kuwait could influence Iraq and give other states, too, the possibility of undertaking such a step. I have been in Moscow for four and one-half years, and to tell you the truth now is not the time just to pay compliments. During that time I have come to the conclusion that one must have great respect for the farsightedness of Soviet foreign policy. Possibly, such steps by the USSR produced some sort of pressure or attempted to persuade Iraq that it is not alone in the world, that there are other countries, too. Perhaps it was an attempt to influence Iraq to come to its senses. I respect the appeal by the USSR always to resolve all questions by peaceful means.

Kuwaiti Minister Visits Iranian President

NC3008123990 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Kuwait's Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah arrived in Tehran on a one-day visit. He was carrying the Kuwaiti amir's message on the situation in the Persian Gulf to Iran's President Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani. The Kuwaiti foreign minister held talks with Iran's Foreign Minister Mr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati. Our commentator writes:

Tehran was one of the capitals which the Kuwaiti minister visited during his trip to some countries. The objective behind this visit is apparently to maintain the necessary level of international opposition to Iraq's aggression. The Kuwaiti foreign minister pointed out that the annexation of his country is illegal and that the efforts by the aggressor to wipe Kuwait off the world map are futile.

The visit to Iran took place at a time when Baghdad had recognized the Algiers agreement and had started the withdrawal of its forces from Iran and the exchange of prisoners of war. Naturally Kuwait started to worry about whether the Iran-Iraq peace would be gained at the cost of Kuwait's independence. But the concern proved to be baseless. Tehran congratulated Saddam Husayn's peaceful initiative but, nevertheless, it decisively refrained from recognizing the annexation of Kuwait. The representative of this Arab country was assured by Iran that Tehran will continue to actively participate in the international sanctions against Baghdad.

The Kuwaiti minister, in turn, became the target of criticisms by the Iranian press for his country's financial assistance to Baghdad during the war. The TEHRAN TIMES wrote that the condemnation of an aggression against any country does not at all mean that the aggressed country is supported.

I think that these attacks were not a mere manifestation of a grudge against the Kuwaiti regime's past behavior. Maybe the Iranian side was not sure that Kuwait would realize and endorse Iran's readiness to accept Baghdad's peaceful initiative at such a sensitive juncture, especially when in some Arab countries Iran's acceptance of Baghdad's peace conditions were assessed as so-called surrender.

But Iran's worries too have proven to be baseless. The Kuwaiti minister congratulated the liberation of Iranian territory from Iraqi forces. He described the assistance to Iraq during the war as a mistake. Thus Kuwait propounded a good example for a realistic and wise approach to regional problems.

The Kuwaiti minister's visit to Iran paved the way for peace between Iran and the Arabs, both as far as confronting Iraq's aggression and both as far as joint cooperation and understanding on other issues. Iran and Kuwait did not propound a coordinated view on the unprecedented military presence of the United States and of other NATO countries. But I think that the issue here is not that the two sides seriously disagreed. Both sides have always been against foreign presence in the Persian Gulf and have supported the solution of security problems by littoral countries. But now, under the conditions of Iraqi occupation, these do not constitute urgent and pressing problems.

Egypt's Mubarak Gives Statement on Gulf Crisis

PM3008094590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent D. Velikiy: "Husni Mubarak's News Conference"]

[Text] Cairo—At a news conference in Alexandria President Husni Mubarak of Egypt has made a number of statements voicing assessments of the situation in the Persian Gulf and the possible development of the situation.

If Iraq ends the occupation of Kuwait, Egypt will press for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Persian Gulf. Egyptian policy is clear, the president said; it is aimed at achieving a peaceful solution. H. Mubarak noted that as a former soldier he knows the consequences of war—it means massive destruction, widows, and orphans. So Egypt is continuing to seek a settlement of the conflict by Arab forces. Nevertheless, it is hoping that Saddam Husayn will proceed to a peaceful solution

of it and will refrain from steps that might prompt the use of military force by the United States and other powers.

H. Mubarak also said that for his part he has told the U.S. President to continue the quest for peaceful solutions in order to avoid war.

The Egyptian president stated, however, that so far the Arabs' efforts to achieve a political solution have not been duly successful. However, they will be continued.

Israelis Avoid Conflict, 'Seized By Panic'

PM2908143790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 90 p 3

["Cairo Dispatch" by special correspondent A. Shumilin under the general heading: "Persian Gulf: There Will Be No Calm"]

[Text] First a curious detail: All the foreign embassies in Cairo, especially the Arab embassies, have been provided in these days of crisis with an additional guard, with the exception of the Israeli Embassy. The current major crisis is the first in the postwar period in which Israel has not been directly or indirectly involved.

"A miracle has happened which has changed the military and political situation in the Near East without Israeli intervention. Iraq has become the West's problem, and there is a chance that this problem will be solved without Israel's involvement"—this was the commentary of Yuval Ne'eman, the Israeli science and technology minister, on the situation that has developed in the region. Indeed, this possibility still exists today, by all appearances. The United States, as officials in Tel Aviv confess, has suggested to Israel that it "sit tight." Moreover, implementation of the recent UN Security Council resolution has been assigned by this international organ only to the states which are collaborating with Kuwait and the states which have sent their ships to the Persian Gulf. Israel belongs to neither category of countries.

All the same, the fears of Israelis that in the event of an explosion in the Gulf situation the flames of war will inevitably engulf their own country as well are, it appears, not without foundation. S. Husayn, THE JERUSALEM POST reports, believes that there are Israeli planes with U.S. identification marks among the groups of troops confronting Iraq on the Arabian peninsula. "The Iraqi leader has stated on more than one occasion that in the event of a clash with the United States he will drag in Israel too. And, if cornered, he probably would do that." The Israeli press adduces a whole series of scenarios for the possible development of events. In most cases the theme is not of a direct first strike against Israel, but of Israel itself being provoked into a strike.

Such assessments are reinforced, in my view, by the development of the political situation in the region. Yes, it is true that S. Husayn's aggression against Kuwait has been condemned by the whole world community, including a majority of Arab states. But the fact that not all of the latter are prepared to adopt sanctions against Baghdad is a different matter. There are two reasons at the very least for this: Iraq is a real military power which can be used for the purposes of the pan-Arab struggle, in other words, the struggle against Israel; second, it is precisely on these arguments that S. Husayn is basing his current propaganda—the readiness to oppose "the agression of U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism." The mobilizing effect of these slogans in the Arab world should not be underestimated. Hence the conclusion: Making slogans designating Israel's involvement in the military conflict a reality may secure the Iraqi leader broad support in the Arab world. In this way the nature of the current crisis changes and its sources—Iraq's aggression against Kuwait—recede into the background.

There is much that is alarming for the Israelis in a scenario of this kind. It is no accident that the issue of providing all Israelis with gas masks is the subject of a politicians' quarrel there. This action, which was to begin back in June, has suddenly been suspended. The Israeli Defense Ministry leadership recently expressed the following viewpoint: Universal supplying of gas masks to the population may be interpreted as preparation by Israel for a chemical war, and used by S. Husayn as a motive for inflicting a strike against the Jewish state. At the same time, the newspaper HADASHOT reports, increasingly wide strata of the population in Israel are being seized by panic: Food produce is being bought up in the shops, shelters are being prepared for use, and newspapers are publishing recommendations on how to act in the event of a chemical weapons attack from Iraq. The mass support for S. Husayn on the part of the Arab inhabitants of Israeli-occupied territories and Palestinians living in Jordan is also a factor of no little importance.

Soviet immigrants settled in Israel are also concerned at the possible development of events. Personal safety considerations, THE JERUSALEM POST notes, are beginning to outweigh all the immigrants' other problems. Israeli leaders are worried that the situation prevailing in the Near East could undermine the influx of immigrants from the USSR and East European countries which was recently on the point of getting established.

Commentary Eyes U.S.-Soviet Gulf Cooperation

PM3008122790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by Major M. Pogorelyy "Observer's Column": "Wisdom Is Better Than Force"]

[Text] This simple yet brilliant thought from the Book of Ecclesiastes seems not to have been fully comprehended by people over the past centuries. At any rate, this conclusion follows even from a cursory acquaintance with the history of mankind, which may with equal success be called the history of military art. This is also confirmed by the events in the Persian Gulf region.

On what was Baghdad counting by violating, incidentally, a commandment in the Koran ("You will not shed your blood, and you will not drive one another from your dwellings")? Did Saddam Husayn really believe that Iraq would get away with that action. Obviously he did. Particularly as there were quite a few "examples to be imitated," even in the most recent times....

And yet Baghdad's scheme of seizing Kuwait with all its riches and then listening to a number of UN resolutions with a mournful yet inflexible mien has not been justified. This is obvious right now. Whereas previously "there was no agreement among comrades," now the UN Security Council and its permanent members have worked marvelously efficiently and effectively. Resolution 661, adopted 6 August, announced the introduction of sanctions against the aggressor: a trade, financial, and military embargo. Agreement was also reached (resolution 665) on the use of military force to ensure the effective fulfillment of these sanctions.

The United States, above all, is prepared to take advantage of this right to the "minimal" or "limited" use of force—precisely its military contingent in the gulf region is the strongest of the 22 states involved in the creation of a multinational force in the region. But who can say precisely and clearly that this is the minimal use of force, this is just a little more, and this is plainly going too far?.... What are the criteria for sufficiency of force and opposition to it? People who have fought know that it seems to every soldier that all bullets, shells, and bombs are coming right at him. But what if it now seems to someone that missiles with chemical warheads are coming at him, for Iraq has them and they really might be used.... Pentagon experts also do not rule out the possibility of a nuclear strike by the U.S. Armed Forces in response to Iraqi chemical bombing raids, forgetting here the ancient eastern wisdom: "Retribution for evil is a like evil."

Of course, we must not become like Krylov's hero and admonish Vaska for gorging himself on his booty, telling him that it is unseemly to behave like that. This will not stop Vaska. And British Foreign Secretary D. Hurd is perfectly right to say that, if aggression is permitted to end in success, not one small country (and not only a small country—M.P.) can feel safe. But how can the world community counter aggression? The age-old question of ends and means.... "Is there still even one chance of avoiding war?" the French newspaper LE MONDE asks. Precisely this formulation of the question appears most moral in the actual situation that has taken shape today. Rectifying one act of aggression with another is not the best way out.

Incidentally, the potential of the United Nations, whose role has increased sharply of late, in settling the conflict in the Persian Gulf has been far from exhausted, just as all diplomatic and political channels for averting war have not yet been utilized. It would be no exaggeration to say that the greatest of these is Soviet-U.S. cooperation. It was no coincidence that such a great strategist and politician as Marshal of the Soviet Union G.K. Zhukov, mindful of the tremendous influence of these two states on the fate of peace and of their might and authority, said to Army General Dwight D. Eisenhower that, if our countries will be partners, "no country on earth would dare to start a war when we forbid it." The chief thing is that there should be the desire for this.

And this means that everything must be undertaken to prevent the outbreak of war in the Persian Gulf. The state wisdom of leaders is needed. For this, as the Book of Ecclesiastes states, is "better than martial weapons."

Afghan General Examines Soviet Withdrawal

90UF0583 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Report on interview with General of the Army M.N. Azimi, first deputy minister of defense of the Republic of Afghanistan, by TASS correspondent Andrey Semenov; place and date not given: "Upholding a Policy of Reconciliation"]

[Text] **On 19 August, Restoration of Independence Day, the people of Afghanistan also celebrate another holiday—Army Day. And this is not accidental. The army defended the independence of the country in three Anglo-Afghan wars, and at the present time it is conducting a struggle for the implementation of a policy of national reconciliation. At the request of TASS correspondent Andrey Semenov, General of Army M.N. Azimi, first deputy minister of defense of the Republic of Afghanistan, talks about the Afghan Army and its combat successes.**

"For our Armed Forces," he said, "the year and a half that has passed since the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has been the most difficult test of durability. At that time hardly anyone in the world believed that our state could stand in face of the opposition. Even various periods for the downfall of the 'Kabul regime' were mentioned. With the direct support of Pakistani special services, a plan was developed to attack the city of Jalalabad where the opposition wanted to move its so-called 'transitional government.' The result of this plan, just like the others, is well-known; the aforementioned government is located in the very same place where it was created—in Pakistan.

"Afghan soldiers and officers displayed heroism on a large scale in battles at Jalalabad. I was appointed commander, as we call it, of the 'eastern front,' and I saw everything that took place. Now the situation has stabilized there.

"After suffering failure in the east, the extremists launched attacks on Khowst and Qandahar, and they tried to cut the strategic Kabul-Salang highway in order to bring us to our knees with the 'economic weapon.' But they failed here as well. We consider last year's clearing of the Kabul-Gardez road, which was controlled by the rebels for many years, to be a major success. It is now open to the movement of transport.

"Anticipating the opposition's effort to capture Kabul immediately after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, we undertook measures for its defense. The capital was girded by three lines of defense. An assault is being made on positions of the 'irreconcilables' in the uyezd of Paghman, from which up to 70 percent of all rocket firings were made against Kabul. Government troops occupied the Paghman gorge and the Pashai gorge and also the peaks that hovered over them. Measures are now being planned whose implementation will make it possible to deprive the opposition of the capability of launching rockets against the capital."

"As for Paghman," the Army general noted, "we control the situation there now. You can see for yourself; I am going there now," he added and invited the TASS correspondent to make the trip with him.

"Beautiful, as in Paghman," was once a saying in Afghanistan. Now the former meaning of this saying will not return soon. The scale of destruction is colossal: During the entire trip, I did not see one building that was not hit by the war; there were ruins everywhere, electric power lines were destroyed, an enormous number of bridges were blown up, and even the famous Arch of Victory, which was erected here to commemorate the end of the third Anglo-Afghan war, was damaged.

Probably more than half the country lies in ruins similar to that in Paghman. There can be no victor in this senseless war. A majority of the Afghans realize the need for national reconciliation. The Afghan Army, along with the defense of the independence and territorial integrity of the country, is also fighting to achieve this.

'Government Week' Celebrated in Iran

NC2908151790 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] "Government Week" is being celebrated in Iran. This is aimed at displaying the people's solidarity with their government. The country's mass media has described as positive the activities of the government of President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

The people's support is a decisive factor in the successful activities and stability of every government. The Islamic Republic of Iran's officials who celebrate "Government Week" every year have comprehended this fact very well. During Government Week, these collective activities aim at mobilizing this kind of massive support from the people. However, it is obvious that no government cannot elicit such support on the part of the people merely through propagandistic slogans and promises. For this purpose, action, not words, is important.

The Iranian religious leader, Ayatollah Khamene'i, and President Hashemi-Rafsanjani project themselves as expert and discerning politicians. While the implementation of programs which have been formulated by the new leaders and likeminded people have been able to attain some succcesses, it is still not possible to make any definite assessment on these matters.

In the prevailing crisis, there are some signs which augur well for the resuscitation of the economic vigor of the country. Some measures for controlling inflation and boosting nonoil exports have been taken. However, actual foreign exchange earnings are obtained from the sale of oil. The revitalization of the economy is closely linked to foreign economic activity.

Here, it would be appropriate to mention a series of positive measures. Following the visit by Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani to the Soviet Union, Iranian-Soviet good-neighborliness and cooperation reached a high level of progress. The differences and (?aloofness) between Iran and the outside world are being shattered. Relations with France are being normalized, and the political atmosphere between Iran and Britain has improved. Only Iranian-American relations remain frigid.

Government Week coincided with the Persian Gulf crisis, which was the result of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait and its annexation. With all this deterioration of the situation, some benefits accrued to Iran, that is, the radical and basic progress in the resolving of the Iran-Iraq dispute, and the boosting of oil exports. Iranian officials credit themselves for this state of affairs and feel that the other political matters will fall into place. However, relying on political opportunism created by extraneous situations is most precarious. In order to attain the support of the people, the government should exert greater efforts. In the economic field the government encounters resistance from a group of privileged clergymen and prominent landlords, if it wishes to implement any reforms. It is not easy to surmount such opposition. The government depends on the people for the democratization of the country.

As in the past, opposition movements are being repressed mercilessly. Any differences of opinion are not tolerated. Thousands of patriotic Iranians who played a considerable role in consolidating the country's independence, and the country's sovereignty against the Shah's dictatorship, are languishing in the dungeons. Iranian social circles believe that the government is able to bolster the people's confidence by its peaceful diplomacy in the conditions of the Persian Gulf crisis and in the resolution of the Afghanistan issue. These should in fact be the priorities of its future policies.

Arrest of Iranian Opposition Members Reported

NC3008085390 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Iran's Intelligence Minister 'Ali Fallahiyan has said that 20 members of two opposition groups who were involved in a psychological war against officials have been arrested. He added that on the basis of evidence from the arrested people, a number of others will also be

arrested. The intelligence minister also said that five spying networks with links to America have also been uncovered.

East Europe

Continuing Disturbances in Bucharest Noted

PM3008083190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Volodin: "Confrontation Continues"]

[Excerpts] Bucharest—Again, as in June, the Romanian public's attention is fixed on University Square, which has become an arena for disturbances in the center of Bucharest. In recent days they have regularly brought traffic to a halt here, each time causing armed police to intervene. [passage omitted]

Usually events take the following course. Around 50 people stand in the middle of the avenue and stop the traffic. Vehicles that try to break through the picket line have rocks thrown at them or have their windows broken. Sometimes drivers end up with fractured skulls. When it gets dark the demonstrators light torches made of rolled-up newspapers and chant slogans: from "Down with Iliescu" to "Ceausescu—Romanian Communist Party, save us from the National Salvation Front!" As I have often been told by people gathering in the square, the situation in the country is far worse than in Ceausescu's day.

Last Sunday there were more arrests in the square, despite efforts by demonstrators attacking police vehicles to free the detainees. As on previous days, the police were in control of the glass-strewn square when darkness fell.

So far none of the numerous Romanian political parties has declared its involvement in the events. On the other hand, the view here is that forces wanting a restoration of "firm hand" authority in Romania are behind the daily demonstrations. In any case, as Interior Minister Doru Ursu said, the police organs are fully resolved to maintain order in the capital in accordance with existing legislation, as well as the powers invested in the Interior Ministry by the Romanian parliament.

Reduction in Oil Supplies to East Europe Viewed

PM3008120790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by A. Yakushin and V. Voloshin, leading scientific staffers of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System: "Oil and Dollars: Why the USSR Has Reduced Oil Deliveries to the Countries of East Europe"]

[Text] The problem of supplying the countries of East Europe with oil is assuming a dramatic character. This can be judged from the long waiting lines at gasoline pumps and the significant increases in retail prices for gasoline in many East European countries. They have gone up this year by almost 100 percent in Bulgaria, 50 percent in Czechoslovakia, and 20 percent in Hungary. There are many reasons for this, but the main one is the reduction in oil deliveries from the USSR. In the first seven months of 1990 exports of Soviet oil to the countries of East Europe decreased by seven million tonnes; in other words it was 20-percent below the planned level. All the signs are that by the end of the year the volume of oil exports from the USSR to these countries will be reduced from the projected 70 to 56 million tonnes. Deliveries of oil to other countries are also being decreased.

What has caused such a significant decrease in deliveries of Soviet liquid fuel? First and foremost the fall in oil production in our country. Whereas in 1988, 624.3 million tonnes of oil were produced in the Soviet Union, a year later the volume of production had fallen to 607.3 million tonnes, and in the current year only 585 million tonnes can be expected.

Next year and in the more distant perspective it is logical, in our view, to reduce deliveries of Soviet liquid fuel to the countries of East Europe still further. The fact is that the structure of Soviet exports has a clearly marked raw material tendency characteristic of many developing countries. This should be changed in favor of increasing the proportion of finished articles in our country's exports.

There is another reason too. In a very few years a system of hard currency clearing will be maintained in transactions between the Soviet Union and most of the countries of East Europe. This system does not guarantee equivalence of exchange even when trade between countries is conducted at current world prices and for freely convertible currency. The need to achieve an export-import balance in the framework of hard currency clearing frequently allows East European countries, in return for "dollar" commodities, which include oil, to deliver to us at inflated prices machine building products whose quality by no means meets world standards.

At the same time, the decrease in Soviet oil exports will be compensated to some degree by an increase in natural gas deliveries. The "Progress" gas pipeline went into operation in 1989, transfering an additional 3.2 billion cubic meters of gas to our East European partners in CEMA (except for Romania, which did not take part in the construction of the pipeline). This year 6.4 billion cubic meters of natural gas will be delivered along it. Nevertheless, this increase will only ease the problem, not solve it.

At the present time East Europe's shortage of liquid fuel is being made more acute by the events in the Persian Gulf. The jump in oil prices has already reduced their ability to buy liquid fuel on the world market.

The oil shortage and related difficulties will be a serious test of the viability of the economic reforms in East

European countries. But, perhaps, in these conditions the countries will at last face up to the questions of energy conservation which are so essential to their economies. After all, their economies' energy consumption is twice as high as that of developed capitalist countries. For many years the East European countries' energy supply problem was solved mainly by deliveries of cheap Soviet fuel. In these conditions the policy of energy conservation was only proclaimed, but in fact was essentially never carried out. Today these countries are having to pay for this.

West Europe

Lithuania's Landsbergis Addresses Oslo Conference

LD2908224190 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Yesterday the chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis, delivered a speech at the international conference "The Anatomy of Hatred" presently held in Oslo.

In his speech Vytautas Landsbergis criticized the western democracies for their tolerant attitude to the variants of the so-called Russian (?peace) which, in Landsbergis' words, is based on the tendency to ignore the Soviet domination of (?their captive countries), thus hoping to prevent the danger of some smaller conflicts regardless of this greatest conflict still persisting in the postwar Europe.

The chairman of the Lithuanian parliament assessed as strange and immoral the Western concern over the spring of the political rebirth of Eastern Europe as breaking up the winter of the intolerant stability. He noted that the Soviet system was based on fear and hatred. (?Love) was doomed to destruction and the new primitively rational and cruel system was built with a view to conquering the rest of the world, said Vytautas Landsbergis. He reminded that the Soviet system did its utmost to inculcate in people suspicion and hatred for the alleged enemies of the Soviet people and state.

The Lithuanian leader pointed out (?there are) the rumors persistently spread in the Soviet Union for more than two years about the hatred of Russians in Lithuania regardless of the fact that Russian guests in Lithuania, more often than not, are rather suprised by its friendliness than animosity shown to them by Lithuanians.

According to Vytautas Landsbergis it is highly probably that the long-lasting intolerance of them endured by the Lithuanian people gives birth to a thirst for justice rather than revenge. He noted that even now the antidemocratic forces are evidently doing their utmost in spreading fear and fanning hatred between Lithuanians and Russians on the one hand and Lithuanians themselves on the other.

Vytautas Landsbergis said that so far Lithuania has managed not only to withstand such policy, but in spite of all the harm and hardships it endured, it has undertaken the task of fostering the long-standing tradition of concord and fellow feeling among its multinational citizens. Our real enemies are not different nations but inhumanity, injustice, and connivance to (?events in us) and around us. Vytautas Landsbergis concluded his speech at the international conference "The Anatomy of Hatred" in Oslo yesterday.

Position on Hijacker to Sweden Explained

PM2908142190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by correspondent M. Zubko under the rubric "On Hijackings of Soviet Aircraft to Sweden": "What Our Minister Advocates"]

[Excerpts] Stockholm—Senior Prosecutor B. Thunved has declared that she will demand for the hijacker M. Mokretsov not only a long jail sentence but also his subsequent expulsion to the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Of course, for the time being these are just the demands of the prosecutor. What will the court's decision be?

This is what I would like to say for now. The decision of the Supreme Court, which found obstacles to M. Mokretsov's extradition to the Soviet side, has patently weakened Sweden's position in the fight against air terrorism.

In this connection I cannot fail to draw attention to statements by N. Fedorov, the new minister of justice of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], who was paying a visit to Sweden and was asked, for understandable reasons, to expound here his viewpoint on the case of M. Mokretsov. The newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET published a lengthy interview with the minister, heading it with the following words in quotation marks: "It is right that they have allowed the hijacker to stay." This headline surprised me, and so I asked N. Fedorov at his news conference the next day:

"Do the words which form the headline of the interview correspond to what the minister told the correspondent?"

"I will make short work of your question," N. Fedorov replied. "The writer of the article telephoned me yesterday, apologized, and said that he had not supplied that title and that there was no such sentence in the interview. The headline was supplied on the editorial board's initiative...."

Well, such things happen here. Only people who encounter a free interpretation of their statements demand corrections in the newspaper, taking the matter to court if necessary. However, our minister, to all appearances, was satisfied with a personal apology by telephone, although he particularly emphasized that he is

a copyright specialist and knows the problems connected with the protection of the interests of those who grant interviews to press organs.

N. Fedorov merely smiled at my question—"Do the newspaper's readers know about the apology from the interview's author?"—and said nothing in reply. And yet this is one of Sweden's leading newspapers and has many subscribers. This means that they all now believe that the RSFSR Minister of Justice appears to oppose the air terrorist's extradition to the Soviet Union. No, it does not seem that the minister "made short work" of this question. When another Soviet journalist asked N. Fedorov to elucidate his position on the hijacker's case, since SVENSKA DAGBLADET distorted it, this is what he said:

"I am understanding of the actions of the Swedish authorities and Swedish justice. I see no juridical grounds for evaluating these actions somehow negatively...."

Then N. Fedorov added that, as a politician and not as the minister of justice, he considers the criminal actions of hijackers dangerous for us all, as they jeopardize the lives of hundreds and hundreds of passengers and pilots and the interests of other countries. He also said that wide publicity for actions such as a criminal's nonextradition is also dangerous.

Lukyanov Receives Delegation of FRG Auditors

LD2908223990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1612 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—A delegation from the auditor-general's office of the Federal Republic of Germany led by its president, H.G. Zavelberg, who is simultaneously the president of the International Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions (INTOSAI) which unites around 150 countries in the world, was in the Soviet Union from 23 to 29 August at the invitation of the USSR People's Control Committee.

The delegation was received by Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. An exchange of views took place on questions of the transition of the USSR's economy to the market and the place of state auditing bodies in these conditions. H.G. Zavelberg gave a detailed briefing on the legal position and activity of auditing bodies in the FRG, showing the need for auditing under conditions of market relations, and expressed his desire for the establishment of permanent contacts between auditing bodies of the FRG and the USSR, and their participation in events held by INTOSAI.

A.I. Lukyanov confirmed an interest in the development of diverse ties between our countries and in a mutual study of the experiences of state construction. It was stressed that as we switch over to a regulated market and recognition of various forms of ownership, there is no lessening of the importance of constant monitoring of the safekeeping and rational use of state property and centralized financial resources, of the fulfilment of national-level economic, social, and defense programmes and state orders, and of the activity of management bodies in the sectors of the national economy.

It was noted during the course of the conversation that a high efficiency of financial and economic auditing must be achieved in our country on the basis of an organic combination of the powers of the Union and the republics: of Union, republican, and local auditing bodies.

The delegation also had conversations at the USSR Council of Ministers, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], the USSR People's Control Committee, and the USSR Finance Ministry. The guests visited the Georgian SSR.

Latin America & Caribbean

Aid to Cuba 'Expected To Be Reduced'

LD2608094890 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] And now our Havana correspondent, Viktor Gorbachev, looks at the state and prospects of trade and economic relations between Cuba and the Soviet Union:

Every third spoon of sugar and every second orange consumed in the Soviet Union are of Cuban origin. The Soviet Union accounts for nearly three-fourths of Cuban foreign trade. But Cuba depends on the Soviet Union to a much greater extent. The Soviet Union's annual aid to that country is estimated at $3-5 billion. This help is expected to be reduced, however. First, because the Soviet Union itself is experiencing serious economic difficulties, and secondly, because, in keeping with its recent decision, trade with Cuba and other countries—members of the council for Mutual Economic Assistance—will be conducted in convertible currency as of 1 January next year. All this, of course, will be a very painful experience for Cuba's economy. It will effect in one way or another about 200 projects being built on Cuba with the Soviet Union's help.

A working group headed by the Soviet and Cuban foreign trade ministers met in Havana recently. The group is responsible for restructuring the economic contacts between the two countries. Its first meeting ended in the signing of a protocol in which there are more differences than points of contact. The effectiveness of the group's work will largely depend on how broad its powers will be in the solution of not only technical matters but also the ones connected with political problems.

In his speech at a rally last month, Fidel Castro said he was satisifed that despite the economic difficulties of its own the Soviet Union was doing all it could to honour its commitments to Cuba.

CPSU Greets Venezuelan Party Congress

PM2308134890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee Secretariat greetings message to Communist Party of Venezuela (PCV) congress]

[Text] To the Eighth Communist Party of Venezuela [PCV] Congress

Dear Comrades,

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat sends fraternal greetings to the delegates of the 8th PCV Congress. We believe that Venezuelan Communists, inspired by the socialist idea, will be able to make a worthy contribution to solving the country's pressing problems and advancing it along the path of democracy and progress.

We value your support for the CPSU's efforts to renew Soviet society and advocate the further development of friendly cooperation between the CPSU and the PCV.

We wish the congress successful work.

(Signed) CPSU Central Committee Secretariat

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Yeltsin Interviewed Following Talks

Perestroyka Deemed 'Paramount'

LD2908182390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Interview with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the USSR, and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, by an unidentified "Vremya" correspondent in Moscow on 29 August—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The first question is both to you and Boris Nikolayevich. Recently it has been possible to read in the press the decision on protecting the economic basis and sovereignty of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. This was followed by the presidential decree revoking this decision and a whole series of other documents. From all this, may we conclude that a rigid confrontation has emerged between the position of the president and that of the leadership of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet? From the conversation that has just taken place is such a conclusion justified?

[Gorbachev] For a start...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] The conversation is not yet over.

[Gorbachev] ...the conversation has not finished yet. I have a meeting in a moment, but we agreed to meet and talk again at 1430. I am bound to say that all the events taking place in this time of ours are characterized by a dynamism and a depth of changes, whereby, you know, we encounter situations in which you cannot make changes without yourself changing. Frequently, we—the Union bodies, the republics, other specific political institutions, and those who head them—find ourselves in a difficult situation. There is the Constitution and there are the laws. We have to change things, we have to change them. New problems and tasks arise, new reassignments of functions and powers. So these situations, so to speak, will no doubt continue to emerge.

But we did have... [changes thought] That is not the main thing we have discussed so far today, so to speak, but we did deal with this issue. The point is, all the same, that there must be coordination and we agreed to have fewer of these incidents. This is because we have to move ahead. If any processes arise, if problems come to a head and they need to be enshrined legislatively at the level of a specific republic and if they affect in one way or another the jurisdiction that exists today, which is enshrined in and defined by the existing constitution, we have both to consider this matter and to introduce changes to the Constitution or the existing laws, too.

But it is very important—I believe that in this sense Boris Nikolayevich and I displayed a full understanding of the following point—it is very important for us now, you see, to ensure that there is no legal nihilism or lack of respect for the law, within the country. So this is not confrontation, but a reflection of our endeavors and of the rapid dynamism with which these changes are now proceeding.

[Correspondent] I believe that the viewers who watch today's material will ask this question, first and foremost, as they look at their screens: Have any paths to mutual understanding taken shape, all the same? Boris Nikolayevich?

[Yeltsin] In reply to the first part of the question I would say that, of course, processes are going on now and appropriate decisions are being made based on the declaration on Russia's state sovereignty, which are seemingly outstripping the obsolete Constitution and several laws. In other words, the processes are moving ahead. Sometimes they contradict current legislation and we need to be tolerant of this because the process will continue anyway, until there is a new constitution and a new Union treaty. Such processes will go on or else we will simply lag behind society.

As for how the mechanism of interaction between the country's president and the leadership of Russia's Supreme Soviet should be, to ensure that there are no situations such as that which arose—we should not have them, in principle—we talked about this today, and one could only express regret that such a very important meeting has maybe been slightly delayed, probably through the fault of both of us.

[Correspondent] You have been working for more than three hours already.

[Yeltsin] But that was still not enough for us.

[Gorbachev] I must say that in general there are no such political and human problems or obstacles to our openly discussing all issues. We are proceeding from the premise that, you know, we have to direct our attention toward the fact that the country today is living through a very responsible phase and very profound and responsible decisions and resolute actions are needed. There is already no room for postponing things. The time limit is virtually at an end. The main content of this meeting is that all social forces, all democratic forces, all in general, need to combine their efforts in society. I would say now, you know, that we have what we call left-wingers and right-wingers, the conservative part. Take society, any society, and you will see the state of minds, where some are more radical and others are...

[Correspondent, interrupting] A normal situation.

[Gorbachev] A normal situation. We must, you know, exclude the influence of these mad people, both on the right and on the far left, and all sorts. We should not talk about them. All the rest of society, all the forces, have to be consolidated, but consolidated on matters of principle, now on consolidating perestroyka, this course, moving it forward and filling it with new content, on carrying out reform more resolutely. In connection with

this on the approaches we... [changes thought] This is very important, and here I am not going to talk about the details now, they are there, and we were not able to discuss them all, but through stabilization, which literally needs to be started as of yesterday...

[Correspondent, interrupting] As of yesterday, right?

[Gorbachev] Yes, as of yesterday, but we have our own view, so to speak on this. Through stabilization we need to take the situation in hand, both in the economy, in finance, on the consumer market. For without that it is impossible to get the process of the transition to the market and all the market mechanisms going. Then the more flexible entry into (?the market): if one were simply to throw society into the market now and not take account of the people and exacerbate all the problems, that would strike at the people. Therefore the discussion at this time was about the approaches of the work, about joint actions, about uniting efforts. That is the main thing.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, Boris Nikolayevich, please say whether your approaches to the problem of the market coincide. Do they coincide?

[Gorbachev] I consider that we have agreed to coordinate approaches on the main things, the principle things we managed to discuss.

[Yeltsin] I consider that all the same this has been our shared intention: to set up a group for working out a program for the stabilization of the economy and the transition to the market. We have both been monitoring the work of this group quite thoroughly and quite solidly during this time and now it seems to us the group has reached some good proposals and radical measures and more rapid actions. But, of course, this is going to have to be discussed and a decision is going to have to be made by every republican supreme soviet—and tomorrow the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation. After that, no doubt, an agreement will have to be signed maybe as the final version, if you like, of this program, an economic agreement between the republic and the president, an economic agreement on the implementation of this program, and the mechanism for the implementation, the structural mechanism that will certainly be different from the one existing today.

[Text] [Gorbachev] I must add to what was said by Boris Nikolayevich by saying we consider that a very important result of that group was that this is not just the work of the Shatalin group, but that it is also the result of the work of this group with the participation of virtually all the competent representatives of the republics. I believe that it is precisely here where the most convincing and well-argued nature of this outlined program lies.

[Correspondent] I would like to know, by the way, whether it is possible that there will be different variants of the program. We talk all the time about the program. Are there any different approaches? Maybe several positions will be published? Or, all the same, are you going to try to issue one single document?

[Gorbachev] I believe that the stage has now been reached when it is necessary to sum up the results and issue one single document. The program will be completed within a week.

[Yeltsin] And it will be stated tomorrow that in one week the program will be sent to all the Union republics for them to express in their supreme soviets their attitude toward this Union program, after which the signing will take place.

[Gorbachev] Paramount importance must be given to the interests of perestroyka and the renewal of the country so that it will be in the interests of our people, and that determines the content of the conversation and its level of responsibility.

[Yeltsin] Which is not to the detriment of the sovereignty or interests of Russia.

Transition to Market Discussed

LD2908165290 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 29 Aug 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today met President of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin.

"They discussed the current political situation in the country and the republic," reads an official report of the meeting distributed here.

Gorbachev and Yeltsin said they were worried about the current living conditions of people and the state of economy and agreed that the problems demand the consolidation of all forces and drastic measures.

They discussed the programme of transition to a market economy. The programme is being prepared by a working group set up about a month ago in accordance with an agreement between the president, the head of the Russian parliament and the Soviet and Russian prime ministers.

During today's meeting both men "particularly noted the need to sign immediately an economic agreement between sovereign republics aimed to create a united union market. They discussed a range of urgent measures to stabilise the economy, which are expected to be submitted for discussion to a joint meeting of the Council of the Federation and the Presidential Council."

Addressing a briefing here, the Soviet president's press secretary Vitaliy Ignatenko described the meeting as "benevolent and constructive." He said that in addition to domestic problems Gorbachev and Yeltsin discussed also some international problems, "particularly, the problems of Europe and the Far East, including Japan."

On the whole, there were over 50 issues on the agenda of today's meeting, held soon after Yeltsin's return from his tour of Russia.

"Today, all our leadership is united by the desire to stabilise the situation and to use their powers to protect the new economic policy, the construction of a new union and perestroyka," Ignatenko said.

Ignatenko Describes Meeting

PM3008101990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev: "USSR Presidential Aide's Briefing"]

[Text] V.N. Ignatenko, aide to the USSR president and head of the president's press service, who has just been appointed to this post, held a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center yesterday.

Today we are on the eve of very important decisions, Vitaliy Nikitich said. We have approached a phase where it is already a question of real changes in economic structures, in forms of life, and in the new relations within the Union itself. The old structures are departing, while the new ones have not yet become strong. Hence instability, unrest, stormy debate. It is not easy to keep such a situation under control. Today our leadership is making every effort to stabilize the situation in the country and to use its power to protect the new economic policy, the building of the new Union, and perestroyka.

Representatives of the Soviet and foreign press were informed that on Thursday 30 August all these questions will be placed on the agenda of a joint session of the Presidential Council and the Federation Council, to which the central government, republic governments, and the leaders of all autonomous formations will be invited.

V.N. Ignatenko told journalists that on Wednesday USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, had a meeting. There was a major, very amicable, and constructive discussion, during which approximately 50 questions of our domestic life were discussed, as well as certain international problems having a bearing on Europe and the Far East—a region which the head of the Russian parliament has just visited.

At the request of journalists Vitaliy Nikitich spoke briefly about himself. He is 49. He was born in Sochi. He graduated from Moscow State University's faculty of journalism and worked at KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, TASS, and the CPSU Central Committee International Information Department. Recently he was chief editor of the magazine NOVOYE VREMYA.

One of the questions concerned the fate of serviceman Maslyayev, who has supposedly requested political asylum in Czechoslovakia. The USSR president's press secretary said that he has been sent to the Turkestan Military District to complete his service but is now on leave and is living with his parents in Kramatorsk.

Answering a question on how the president's work day is organized, V.N. Ignatenko pointed out that he had not expected the president to be so overworked. M.S. Gorbachev has taken just two weeks' vacation, not that it can be called a vacation in the full sense, since the events in the Persian Gulf region began at that time and an aircraft of ours was seized by terrorists and flown to Pakistan at that time. M.S. Gorbachev and E.A. Shevardnadze constantly monitored this situation, which could have been very tragic. The president's work day begins before 0900. He has no less than 20 meetings and conversations every day. This is a heavy schedule.

Presidential, Federal Councils' Agenda Detailed

LD3008081290 Moscow TASS in English 0736 GMT 30 Aug 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—The USSR Presidential and Federation Councils are meeting in a joint session in the Kremlin today. The session is focusing on a wide range of issues: the economic policy, the situation in the union, problems of the federation and society's full transition to market relations.

Representatives of central republican governments and all autonomous entities were invited to attend the session.

Informing journalists about the joint session on Wednesday, Presidential spokesman Vitaliy Ignatenko added that the same issues were discussed at the meeting between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The two men discussed, in part, a mechanism to prevent future situations in which decisions by the centre clashed with those of the largest union republic.

In an interview with Central Television, Gorbachev said that he and Yeltsin reached full understanding as regards the inadmissibility of right-wing nihilism and contempt for law in the country.

Gorbachev believes that in order to address current problems plaguing the country, the situation must be stabilised and a smoother entry of the market economy ensured. He thinks that an abrupt switch to a market economy will exacerbate all problems and negatively affect the people.

Gorbachev and Yeltsin told television viewers that the group drafting the programme to stabilise the economy and transfer to a market economy, which was set up under their mutual agreement, suggests prompter moves for the transition to a market economy.

The two councils will analyse the results of its group's work today. The programme will apparently be completed within a week and sent to all union republics' parliaments for discussion.

CPSU Secretariat Discusses Congress Aims

LD2908202790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1819 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—Several urgent measures resulting from the decisions of the 28th Party Congress were examined at a routine sitting of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee. Emergency anti-crisis actions aimed at ensuring the consolidation of society, at achieving civic peace in the country through political means, and at resolving problems of everyday life were discussed in particular.

Aleksandr Dzasokhov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, drew attention to clauses of the congress decision: "democratic national policy—the path to a voluntary union, to peace and accord between peoples." The attainment of national accord in the choice of ways to renew the Union should be a most important task for party organizations, he stressed.

Andrey Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave an analysis of recent events in the country's "hot" spots. He reported on the participation of party committees in explanatory work toward preparing a Union treaty and spoke about the need for the efforts of the center and territorial authorities to be more closely linked.

The Secretariat outlined the following measures as the most important: to take a legislative initiative to the USSR Supreme Soviet on a legal and economic mechanism for managing migration processes in the country and on protecting the constitutional rights of citizens forced to leave their place of permanent abode and to attain a humane and democratic approach to settling the refugee problem.

The issue of the increasing political tension resulting from the worsening provision of foodstuffs and other goods to the population was pointedly raised. The need was recognized to appeal to Communists in the USSR Government and Councils of Ministers of the Union republics and local soviets, responsible for the state of the consumer market, to adopt effective measures to maintain the production and sale of consumer goods, above all foodstuffs, in volumes no lower than envisaged for the current year.

The sitting of the Secretariat also examined the matter of the participation of the CPSU in implementing the ideas and initiatives put forward in Mikhail Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, as well as other matters concerning the party's international activity.

Meeting Attendees Listed

LD2908203190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A number of urgent measures resulting from the decisions of the 28th Party Congress were examined at a routine sitting of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee.

The sitting was addressed by Comrades Dzasokhov, Girenko, Nishanov, Stroyev, Shenin, Yanayev, and other comrades.

You will be able to find a more detailed account in the press.

Gorbachev Summons Officials on Tobacco Shortage

LD2908181490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1730 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev today summoned Vladilen Nikitin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Ivan Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers; Gennadiy Kulik, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; and Suren Sarukhanov, deputy minister of trade of the USSR, to give explanations as to the causes of the critical situation in the supply of tobacco goods to the population.

The president found the cited arguments and explanations for the causes of the crisis on the tobacco market unconvincing and untenable. Analysis shows that top officials have been irresponsible and negligent and appropriate measures have not been taken to resolve matters that affect millions of people.

Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, took part in the discussion.

The decisions of the USSR president will be reported in the immediate future.

Sakhalin Official Views Soviet Power Structure

90UN2677B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by I. Farkhutdinov, chairman of the Nevelsk City Ispolkom, Sakhalinsk Oblast: "Confusion Again?"]

[Text] On 17 July in Moscow a conference was convened, presided by the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. I was a participant at this conference.

N.I. Travkin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on the Functioning of the Soviets of People's Deputies and Development of Self-Government, delivered an address. The very name of the committee

defined both the purpose of his presentation and its discussion. The most diverse questions were raised, but the most important, in my view, was examination of issues of interaction between the soviet presidiums and ispolkoms [executive committees], the role and position of each of these organs, and the advisability of instituting the posts of chairman of the soviets.

I did not manage to make a presentation—my turn did not come up. It is not the desire "to shake my fists following the fight," however, that compels me now to take up my pen, but rather my disagreement with many of those who spoke on the existing structure of the soviets and proposed innovations. Of almost 40 individuals who took the floor, only three ispolkom chairmen spoke at the conference, this opportunity being afforded primarily to chairmen of soviets of all levels—from oblast to village.

Opinions on the usefulness of soviet presidiums established were varied, and included the following: The presidiums added prestige to the power of the soviets. It seems to me that the new deputies—people not always well adapted, but searching and not indifferent—added prestige and specific business to the soviets. But here it is as if the structure that has been formed mixes the functions of soviet presidium and ispolkom, and leads to their confrontation. Isn't this why a number of those who spoke proposed that ispolkom chairmen be appointed by the first deputy chairmen of the soviets? I believe this is nothing other than an attempt to preserve an irrational structure. Discussion has long taken place in the country at all levels regarding the necessity of separating the legislative and executive power—and now we see this turn of events.

Proposals were also presented to the effect that the chairman of the soviet should become the "local president," and the ispolkom chairman, naturally—"the head of government." This is apparently an inherited trait with us—the inclination toward increasing numbers of officials. The tendency to learn only by one's own mistakes is being preserved. I do not claim to have knowledge of the absolute truth. Nonetheless, I believe the present composition of deputies in Russia—about 800,000—is somewhat too large for the republic.

Over a year ago I directed my proposals on the structure of local authority to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the country and that of the republic. I didn't invent anything new. I simply proposed—and now propose—the introduction of presidential authority in the country, gubernatorial in the oblast, municipal in the city and rayon, as is done in neighboring Japan and in other developed countries. In this regard, the governor and mayor should be elected by direct vote of all the electorate, but should not be deputies of the corresponding soviets. In the oblast soviet the number of released deputies should correspond to the number of rayons, and not the resident population. Their work should not resemble the work of the presently dismissed presidium of the oblast soviet, which duplicates that of the republic committees. What kind of legislative initiative can there be on the oblast or city level? An apparatus and commissions should not be established for the new deputies. The chief task of the deputy is to work in the rayon and the city, to fight for the interests of the voters at sessions and in various oblast organizations.

Deputies of oblast and city (rayon) soviets should elect an assembly chairman (this is what he is called in Japan). He can be called something else—the name is not important. With this arrangement it is easy to demarcate the rights and functions of governor or mayor and the corresponding soviet.

'Text' of Gorbachev Ukase Restoring Citizenship

90UN2677A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "USSR Citizenship Restored," followed by "Ukase of the USSR President on the Repeal of Ukases of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of Certain Persons Residing Outside the USSR," and Appendix to the Ukase]

[Text] It has been reported in the press that, by ukase of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, ukases of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the deprivation of USSR citizenship of certain persons residing outside the USSR have been repealed.

Citizens of our country as well as foreigners have been requesting that the editorial offices of newspapers, radio and television, and information agencies provide the names of those individuals with respect to whom previously adopted sanctions have been repealed. We present here the complete text of the Ukase, and the Appendix to this document.

Ukase of the USSR President on the Repeal of Ukases of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of Certain Persons Residing

Outside the USSR

1. To repeal ukases of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Deprivation of USSR Citizenship, adopted over the period 1966-88 with respect to a number of individuals currently residing outside the USSR (list of ukases appears in the Appendix).

2. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs will bring the content of this ukase to the notice of those persons residing outside the USSR with respect to whom the previously adopted ukases of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on deprivation of USSR citizenship have been repealed, and ensure that they are issued passports as USSR citizens, according to their wishes.

The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs will carry out a similar effort with respect to affected individuals during their stay on USSR territory.

3. This Ukase enters into force from the moment of its signing.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, president of the USSR
[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 15 August 1990

Appendix to the Ukase of the USSR President of 15 August 1990 "On the Repeal of Ukases of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of Certain Persons Residing Outside the USSR"

1. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 19 February 1966 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of V.Ya. Tarsis." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1986, No. 8, Article 135).

2. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 11 June 1970 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of I.R.-E. Shakhnazarova."

3. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 12 December 1972 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of V.N. Chalidze."

4. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 12 February 1974 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship and Eviction from the USSR of A.I. Solzhenitsyn."

5. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 19 October 1976 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of N.D. Solzhenitsyna."

6. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 12 November 1976 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of M.S. Voslenskiy."

7. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 23 June 1978 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of O.Ya. Rabin." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1978, No. 26, Article 412).

8. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 28 December 1978 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of V.L. Korchnoy." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1979, No. 1, Article 30).

9. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 24 April 1979 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship and Eviction from the USSR of G.P. Vins."

10. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 1 October 1979 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of I.S. Glagolev."

11. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 1 October 1979 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of Yu.A. Novikov."

12. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 20 November 1980 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of V.P. Aksenov." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1981, No. 2, Article 74).

13. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 12 January 1981 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of L.Z. Kopelev and R.D. Orlova (Kopeleva)." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1981, No. 3, Article 106).

14. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 16 June 1981 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of V.N. Voynovich." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1981, No. 25, Article 818).

15. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 1 July 1983 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of G.N. Vladimov." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1983, No. 33, Article 520).

16. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 22 August 1985 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of I.S. Shelkovskiy." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1985, No. 35, Article 654).

17. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 10 November 1985 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of M.Kh. Reemets." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1985, No. 46, Article 889).

18. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 2 October 1986 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship and Eviction from the USSR of Yu.F. Orlov."

19. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 14 May 1987 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of I.B. Ratushinskaya and I.O. Gerashchenko." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1987, No. 20, Article 278).

20. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 11 June 1987 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of A.I. Koryagin." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1987, No. 24, Article 343).

21. Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 3 June 1988 "On Deprivation of USSR Citizenship of N.D. Rudenko." (Register of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1988, No. 23, Article 395).

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The Ukase of the USSR president affects decisions on deprivation of Soviet citizenship of certain individuals only. As far as other individuals are concerned, with respect to whom ukases of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium have been adopted in various years, the issue can be resolved in accordance with the law regulating the procedure for the restoration of USSR citizenship.

Shebarshin on KGB's First Main Administration

90UF0492A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 34, 25-31 Aug 90 p 7

[Interview with Lieutenant General L. Shebarshin, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB and chief of the First Main Administration, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent P. Lukyanchenko; place and date not given; "Is It True That..."—first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] In view of the fact that so much material has appeared recently devoted to the activity of the Committee for State Security, we can assert with great confidence that among the populace the concept is still quite poorly envisaged as to what this department actually does, whether or not it is all-powerful, and whether it has changed since the times of Stalin and Brezhnev. Testifying to this ignorance are the rumors—sometimes absolutely ridiculous—passed from mouth to mouth which often determine the image today's Chekists have in the eyes of ordinary people.

In order to help the reader see the true appearance of this department, and refute or confirm rumors that abound, ARGUMENTY I FAKTY proposes to publish a series of interviews with leaders of the main subdivisions of the USSR KGB. Today we invite your attention to a conversation between our correspondent P. Lukyanchenko and Lieutenant General L. Shebarshin, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB and chief of the First Main Administration (PGU).

[Lukyanchenko] Is it true that, according to the textbook PGU cadre train by, a most important operational mission of Soviet intelligence is "the establishment of a network of agents in countries which comprise our main enemies, especially in the United States"?

[Shebarshin] The quote is from a rather poor translation from English of the Barron book "KGB," published in the United States with the distinct purpose of inflicting damage against the Soviet Union. I think Barron himself and his coauthors from the CIA would be surprised at how seriously intelligent people are taking them.

The expression "network of agents" was at one time widely used, but has now become archaic. It was squeezed out of usage by actuality itself.

The establishment of operational stations abroad is indeed an important mission of Soviet intelligence and a necessary condition for obtaining valuable, secret, urgent information. What kind of stations these are, in what aspect our intelligence operatives appear—these are matters which are beyond the threshold of glasnost.

[Lukyanchenko] Is it true that KGB agents included U.S. presidential adviser A. Hiss, the American TIME magazine publisher W. Chamber; one of the leaders of the NATO Unified General Staff, U.G. Volen; NATO revenue inspector N. Imre; British member of Parliament W. Owen; West German Bundestag Deputy A. Frentzel; the very prominent West German code expert I. Eitzenberger; and the chief European representative of Air France, J.M. Ogreau?

[Shebarshin] The listing of officials you cite is quite impressive—any intelligence service would consider such contacts a major success.

However, I must state that, in principle, not a single intelligence agency would ever publicly confirm or deny information regarding its contacts with one individual or another. Here is where the boundary of glasnost runs and no special service can transgress it, for entirely understandable reasons. Exceptions to this rule are sometimes permitted, but only under exceptional circumstances. I do not see any such circumstances here.

[Lukyanchenko] Is it true that American A. Lokshin and his wife, requesting asylum in the USSR, were KGB agents?

[Shebarshin] In answering this question I make an exception to the rule—the KGB has no relationship whatsoever to this family.

[Lukyanchenko] Is it true there exists a so-called "blue-book" published specially for KGB operatives in foreign countries which contains the names of traitors who were employees and agents of the KGB and who are marked for elimination?

[Shebarshin] I try to follow material about the KGB in foreign and Soviet publications, and I would say that it is difficult to astonish me. This question, I must admit, astonishes me. It is either something out of a long-forgotten fabrication or a completely new, albeit somewhat nasty-smelling, invention. There do not exist, nor can there be, books or lists of this type. I want to decisively repudiate the insinuation contained in the question that intelligence is engaged in eliminating people. Please—look around. This is 1990. Do we have to try to burden our reality with evil spirits?

If you are interested in the secret operations of American intelligence, which permits the physical extermination of foreign political leaders, I am prepared to provide the editors appropriate materials.

[Lukyanchenko] Is it true that the PGU is considered the elite of the KGB system and that almost half of its personnel consist of former party functionaries and their offshoots?

[Shebarshin] Service in intelligence is not easy, but it does have prestige—this is true. The word "elite" is not in our general usage—it sort of isolates a certain category of people, places them above the rest. Intelligence people are professionals, modest people who gravitate toward anonymity and do not wish to stand out. There are, of course, sad exceptions widely known today, people who sustain a passion for self-advertisement at any price. Their efforts in particular have created the myth of the exclusivity of intelligence, the words "elite" and "elitist" imparting some kind of special, publicity-oriented glitter.

Yes, there are people in our ranks who previously worked in the party—in elective posts, as a rule. There are not many, and special allowances are not made for them—but then, they never made any claim to such. On the whole, they function no worse than anybody else.

[Lukyanchenko] Is it true that the PGU has a disinformation section, and that this section, in particular,

organized through an agent the deplorable, well-known published item about B. Yeltsin in the Italian newspaper LA REPUBBLICA?

[Shebarshin] The KGB had nothing to do with material published in an Italian newspaper.

The word "disinformation" sounds ominous, but don't be frightened—we have no unit called a disinformation section. There are certain constructive steps—in the sense of exerting a positive influence in the resolution of one issue or another abroad for the good of our fatherland—which we do indeed undertake. How this is done is our secret, but the methods are absolutely civilized.

[Lukyanchenko] Is it true that there exists in the PGU system a scientific research institute for intelligence proposals in which former dissidents are working?

[Shebarshin] We do have a scientific research subdivision. Extremely well-trained and intelligent people work in it. Former dissidents are not sent there specially. Keenness and a nontraditional approach to problems have always been characteristic of personnel in this section. I think it is not just former dissidents who are distinguished by these qualities.

[Lukyanchenko] Is it true that the minimum fee paid KGB agents is $200, and the maximum $2 million, as they say was the case with the attempted theft of a French Mirage-3E fighter by the Lebanese Mattar?

[Shebarshin] No, that is not true. You are operating with unreliable data.

We care about the people who assist us. We value them and, of course, provide them material support.

[Lukyanchenko] Is it true that KGB leaders, illegally traveling to the West on KGB business, alter their outward appearance and use forged documents?

[Shebarshin] We are not characters in a cheap detective novel or actors in a theater of the absurd. If you will allow me, I will say a few words in concluding our conversation.

The KGB and our intelligence service are pursuing the path of glasnost. It is absolutely necessary that Soviet society obtain trustworthy information on their activity and be convinced they are accomplishing an important state mission, that they know today's Chekists are dedicated to the fatherland, and are well-trained, honest, sensible, and intelligent people. In recent years, contrary to the assertions of ill-wishers, the KGB has done a great deal to restructure its work and assist the country more effectively in resolving our difficult common problems. And much could be said about this effort.

Unfortunately, our conversation took a different turn. I had to comment on people's fabrications, refute unscrupulous inventions designed for the simpleton. But patience is one of the virtues of intelligence people, and I have responded seriously and conscientiously.

I am afraid the problem is not that our reading public actually believes in the stereotypes created by Barron and company, the authors of cheap detective novels, or traitors attempting to hide their Judas stigma under a heap of "disclosures." Their interests are apparent and do not require explanation.

I would like not only readers, but primarily those who formulate public opinion, to approach these stereotypes with a healthy skepticism, to see how society is changing and how state institutions are changing along with it, and how the people who work in them are changing. If our assistance is needed in this, we are always ready to provide it.

Bakatin Responds to Readers' Questions on Crime

90UN2687A Moscow TRUD in Russian
19 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs and member of the USSR Presidential Council, by V. Belykh, based on readers' questions; place and date not given: "Can the Militia Defend Us?"—first three paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] Today the unrestrained rise in crime alarms everyone. A feeling of vulnerability to hooligans, gangsters, rapists, burglars, and speculators affects our life in the most ruinous manner and undermines many people's faith in the processes of perestroyka. As a result, we must know what is happening in the law enforcement organs. The security of each person depends to a great degree on them.

Back in June we reported that the leader of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] had agreed to answer questions from TRUD readers. After that the editor received tens of thousands of letters, and we thank everyone who responded to our request. Unfortunately, many of them will not be used in our conversation with the minister because they were about specific criminal cases, unsolved crimes, and judicial mistakes. But the letters of that type will be handed over to the MVD and examined there.

From the rest we selected those questions that were repeated the most often. The USSR minister of internal affairs answers them.

[Belykh] Vadim Viktorovich, what is your evaluation of the country's crime situation today? You must agree that it is alarming to see not only the jump in theft, larceny, and hooliganism but also the fact that crimes are being committed more and more often with special cruelty.

[Bakatin] If I were to say that I see it as very difficult and alarming, you would not be surprised.

However, if I were to say that we should not panic and that I will compare our situation with the far higher levels of crime in a number of Western countries, you probably would not believe me. But the Ministry of Finances is reducing allocations....

As for the second part of the question, it really is true that there have been more crimes committed with special cruelty.

At the same time, I must present the real scale of this phenomenon. Looking at crime statistics, homicide comprises 0.9 percent, and homicide with special cruelty makes up 0.04 percent, that is to say hundredths of a percent. For many years this relationship has remained approximately constant, but there is a tendency toward growth. But what are we talking about? Homicide is homicide. It is already an act of cruelty.

The pace in the growth of crime has decreased this year. However, now our alarm is caused not by the growth in crime or by some kind of special cruelty, but by the law enforcement system's increasing lack of physical opportunity to respond to the growing mass of crimes.

Some say that law enforcement organs only have to "put the pressure" on them properly or create some sort of new state committee, and then we will be able to mop up crime. That is an error at best. Criminal phenomena reflect the political, economic, social, and spiritual processes occurring in society. Crime also appears against the background of alcoholism, drug addiction, and moral deficiencies. On the other hand, society and each individual citizen have the right to raise the question of guarantees of personal protection and of expanding and intensifying law enforcement activities. They have the right to demand an account from those organs that were created for that.

[Belykh] How is our militia to oppose criminals? So much has already been said about the poor supply of equipment, and it seems to us that the situation has changed very little. In addition, the professional and physical training of employees of the organs of internal affairs raises doubts.

[Bakatin] The criticism of an unprofessional militia has become quite popular in this country. In principle it is hard not to agree with it. Unfortunately, it is not a timely criticism for the militia alone. Lack of professionalism permeates all our structures—from economics to ideology.

I do not wish to be accused of overlooking genuine gaps in the training and reinforcement of personnel, in the supply of equipment to the MVD, and in efforts to increase the activity and conscientiousness of workers of the militia. Overcautiousness, confusion, and indecisiveness in the use of the law's sanctions have been noted in recent years in organs of the MVD (and in the law enforcement sphere as a whole).

Unfortunately, we are also enduring tragic losses. Last year 189 employees died and 1,535 were wounded in the performance of their duties to maintain order and fight crime. In the first six months of this year 85 internal affairs employees died and 716 were wounded.

Each profession has its own rules for security techniques. But for the most dangerous profession—the militia employee—so far there is no such set of rules.

Recently the USSR MVD adopted a series of measures for improving and standardizing the training of personnel. Basic training periods have been increased: For instance, for militiamen, from four to 10 months; for guards of isolation holding cells, from 1.5 to seven months; and for inspectors of street patrol services of the State Automobile Inspection, from 5.5 to 11.5 months.

The training plans for basic training include the course "Professional and Psychological Training." The time required for legal, technical, medical, weapons, and physical training have been increased by a factor of 1.5 to two.

As for the supply of equipment, there is no use even criticizing it. Lately it has become fashionable to compare us with "them." Thus, for example, in the United States the police cost each taxpayer $100. Each citizen of the USSR pays eight rubles for the militia. What is there to compare?

[Belykh] Not so very long ago we were arguing about whether we had organized crime or not. Now no one doubts its existence. A specialized service has even been created to fight it. Has anyone estimated the "Mafia's" influence on the situation in the country, its forces, its opportunities, and how effectively we can oppose it today?

[Bakatin] The term "organized crime" was heard officially at a state level at the first USSR Soviet of People's Deputies. We suffered substantial damage as a result of our soothing assertions in the fifties, sixties, and seventies about its absence. In the meantime organized crime developed and, together with the growth in the black market, spread further and further in the years of stagnation.

Unfortunately, we do not have sufficiently accurate statistical standards for the black market. Along with that, there are no authoritative data on the true scale of organized crime. Nonetheless, its political, social, economic, and legal danger goes far deeper and broader than formal information about criminal proceedings instituted against individual criminal groups. Nonetheless, I will cite a few figures. During the first six months of 1990, about 1,000 criminal groups were uncovered. They were responsible for almost 3,500 crimes, including dozens of murders and hundreds of robberies, thefts, and extortions.

You are correct: We have created a specialized "sixth" directorate for analyzing the organized crime situation. But it is still getting underway.

The sixth directorates were intended as a new type of directorate which does not belong to the vertical, centralized, command and administration system of the MVD.

They are independent and are only created where they are needed.

In the USSR MVD, the main task of the sixth directorate is to analyze international and interregional ties of the criminal world on a larger scale.

In the republic, oblast, or city they can work on certain of the most dangerous group crimes. Nevertheless, fashion is fashion. Some rushed to create sixth subunits in their own units just because there is one in the USSR MVD. But now they do not know what it is to do. They complain that there are no instructions from above.

This is the main problem of the MVD (and not only the MVD). The right to independence, to creativity, to activity has been presented. But many of the personnel do not want that independence. They are not accustomed to it, not trained for it, and do not know what to do with it. In the meantime, the fight against crime will not be won without freedom of creativity for the intellect, because organized methods solve nothing by themselves.

[Belykh] A common problem today is that newer and newer "trouble spots" are appearing on the map of our country. As a rule, the measures to halt violence, pogroms, and thefts are undertaken much too late. That is what happened in Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Tajikistan, and Kirghizia. Did the local employees of the organs of internal affairs, who were supposed to have full information, really not foresee the approaching bloody events? Or did they foresee them and do nothing? Incidentally, there were a number of instances where the militiamen themselves acted on the side of those conducting the pogrom.

[Bakatin] I do not agree: When were measures taken much too late? The Internal Troops are prepared to arrive at a designated spot six to 12 hours after the local authorities evoke an emergency situation or request troops.

In Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, and Uzbekistan it was not the Internal Troops who were late but the local organs of power. They were supposed to make timely political, legal, and other decisions to avert the development of conflicts. It is impossible to "extinguish" such conflicts with troops, never mind interethnic conflicts. One cannot lead the people and the population to a critical condition and then set one's hopes upon military troops. Each of the conflicts in the "trouble spots" you named had its own social and economic causes. But they also had one cause in common—nationalism.

Anticipating mass disorder, pogroms, and outrages and removing their causes is everyone's business. But when things reach the point of "one force against another," then it is no longer a question of anticipation but of suppression. And this, of course, is the field of activity of the militia, troops, and the KGB.

I agree that among the militia workers in the aforementioned regions one will meet with traitors, renegades, and common nationalists.

There were also cowards and double-dealers. The Procuracy is dealing with them.

[Belykh] Let us look at a problem connected with interethnic conflicts from the other side. The USSR presidential edict "On Prohibiting the Creation of Armed Formations Which Are Not Stipulated by USSR Legislation and Confiscating Weapons in Instances Where They Are Maintained Illegally" has been published. Was there another law in effect before it which forbade maintaining and bearing weapons?

[Bakatin] Yes, one was in effect and still is. But why do you connect it with interethnic conflicts? The scope of the edict is broader. There are no legal armed formations anywhere in the country except Armenia. And there the new leadership of the republic intends to bring order.

It is much more difficult to expose and render harmless, so to speak, the common armed bands who are presently holding tens of thousands of firearms.

The edict is a normal, natural reaction of the president to the situation. He has increased the activities of both the local organs of power and the central law enforcement organs. I have already asked journalists not to raise a special commotion about this edict.

Many of the republics have requested that the term of the edict be extended. The president is considering it.

However an extension of the edict does not at all mean that efforts should abate, especially at the level of the republic's authorities and law enforcement organs. The task of seeking out and disarming armed formations or of confiscating weapons still remains. But the organs of power are trying to do this through peaceful means, without the risk of perhaps numerous victims.

[Belykh] The editorial board has been receiving a great number of agitated letters from mothers whose sons are currently being conscripted into the internal forces. Although servicemen will soon be hired for work in many of the subunits, the problem as a whole cannot be resolved that way. It seems more honest to have a person's agreement for this kind of compulsory service. Incidentally, readers are asking whether soldiers are really being conscripted today into the Dzerzhinskiy, Sofrinnskiy, and Kalchevskiy divisions of the internal forces primarily from Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine?

[Bakatin] We must understand and share the grief of a mother who has lost a son. This year 18 servicemen of the Internal Troops of the USSR's MVD have died fighting disorders in interethnic conflicts.

You are right: Work has begun in the Internal Troops to man one (but not many) subunit using contracts. I would like to stress that contracts are used, not hiring. Soldiers

are not a hired labor force which can be compelled to do anything you please for money; they are servicemen acting strictly within the limits of the law. Only those men who have already served a year or 18 months of active compulsory service and who have the appropriate moral and physical qualities can become professionals.

The majority of the troops will be staffed on the basis of the universal military obligation. Of course the wishes of the conscripts are taken into account where possible. But the country's complicated demographic situation must be considered. And certain sociopolitical situations in a number of places have had a direct effect on the callup this year.

The ethnic makeup of the Internal Troops fully reflects the multiethnic nature of the state. At the present time, about 70 nationalities and peoples of the Soviet Union serve in these units.

There are units and combined units with traditional planned regions for staffing. I do not see anything reprehensible in this.

[Belykh] In the present situation it is extremely important to ask how relations are between the USSR MVD and the republics' Ministries of Internal Affairs. It may soon happen that any attempts by your central department to interfere in their work will be rejected out of hand and you in essence will become a minister without real power.

[Bakatin] This really is a question of extreme importance. But not because it concerns a minister without power. I am not talking about my own person. I have never clung to any position.

The issue should be looked at differently. And the key is in the answer to this question: Do the deputies of the Union republics and their leaders intend to create a Union of Soviet sovereign republics, or do they intend to pull our state down to the ground? If it is the latter, then there is nothing to talk about.

But as I understand it, you asked the question with the understanding that our Union will be preserved.

Only in this instance does the question of relations between the USSR MVD and the Ministries of Internal Affairs of the republics make sense.

All the republics' ministries have studied this question closely and have come to a common conclusion. On 30 July 1990 they signed a communique on this basis.

A Union of sovereign states with a single market domain is greatly in need of an organ to coordinate the republic Ministries of Internal Affairs in their fight against crime. Because crime is not confined to individual republics.

I personally believe that it would be advisable for the USSR MVD to retain a spectrum of functions, let us say those that are under federal and central jurisdiction. This, apparently, pertains to organization and direct implementation of measures to expose and investigate crimes affecting interrepublic interests. This includes organized crime, illegal trade in drugs ("drug trafficking"), interrepublic and international criminal ties, and coordination of all-Union searches and searches for persons who have committed crimes under federal jurisdiction.

Additional functions would include administration of Internal Troops, guarding especially important facilities, and transport militia.

And of course it would be ruinous to dismantle the current system of training personnel for advanced skills and scientific activity at the organs of internal affairs. And it would be all the more intolerable to lose the system of supplying materials, equipment, and troops which has been created.

These are the general features, of course, at the federal level. It would require the creation of operations and investigations forces similar to the FBI in the United States. I assume that the readers will understand the conditionality of such a comparison. But the organizational idea and its principles are expressed with sufficiently accurate approximation.

Everything else exists at the republic level.

Within the republic, the following may be allotted to the local level: The organs of internal affairs of the executive committees of the kray and oblast soviets with their full complement of rights and powers over such militia services as patrol duty and specially-designated militia detachments, divisional inspectors, street patrol services, subunits for the prevention of crimes, and fire services.

This is how we envision an expedient division of federal, republic, and local jurisdiction.

Soon after the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Congress of People's Deputies adopted the decree "On a Delimitation of Functions of Administering Organizations on the Territory of the RSFSR (Basis of a New Union Treaty)," I had a meeting with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

I am sure readers will remember that one of the paragraphs of this important political document says that "the RSFSR MVD is subordinate only to the RSFSR Council of Ministers and cooperates with the USSR MVD." This very question of cooperation was the very first thing discussed at our meeting. I will tell you frankly that I was very satisfied with the conversation that took place. Boris Nikolayevich took a quite realistic view of all sides of cooperation and coordination, guided by existing reality and the approaching prospects of developing and reinforcing organs of the MVD.

At present the issue of the cooperation, teamwork, and coordination of the efforts of the USSR MVD and the Ministries of Internal Affairs of the Union republics has

practically become a watchword. The need is arising for a contractual and legal formulation of such cooperation.

An accord was already signed on the first of August between the USSR MVD and the government of the Republic of Estonia concerning relations in the sphere of the activities of the organs of internal affairs. In this accord both parties took upon themselves clear obligations and enunciated common principles for joint work. This is the first, and not the last, agreement of its type.

[Belykh] What are relations currently like between the MVD and the KGB? Is the KGB the "elder brother" of the Ministry of Internal Affairs as before? To be honest, it is a little hard to understand when we read that KGB men are catching gangsters and racketeers. Properly speaking, this is not their task. And if there are surplus forces, then would it not be simpler to transfer them directly to your jurisdiction?

[Bakatin] It is a question of cooperation and teamwork where they are necessary. And we solve these tasks in a spirit of complete understanding and in a businesslike manner.

We are in very close contact in the fight against organized crime. The KGB has had to concern itself with racketeers and criminal bands of gangsters. Will it stay that way for long? Time will tell. But at present we need to make use of the great possibilities and professionalism of the employees of state security in the fight against the most dangerous forms of crime.

[Belykh] It is very distressing, but we have received many letters describing abuses in the organs of internal affairs. They are from people who have been beaten or humiliated or whose futures have been ruined. What is the level of crime among employees of the organs of the MVD themselves?

[Bakatin] There have been 126 crimes for 100,000 employees.

Last year more than 6,000 employees of the organs of internal affairs were disciplined for official misdemeanors connected with violation of socialist law. Thirty thousand have been dismissed from the organs for so-called "negative reasons." In the first six months of this year, 3,052 employees underwent punishment for official misdemeanors, and criminal action was brought against 103—68 of them were for taking bribes.

The ministry plans to solve these problems though a precise system of measures: selecting candidates on the basis of competition, educating them, providing legal and social safeguards for personnel, raising wages, and many other things. Along with measures to clean up the ranks of the organs of the MVD, of course.

Apparently it is advisable to create a special service which exists in many of the police forces of developed countries. If we are thinking seriously about uprooting bribery, abuses, and corruption among our personnel, we too will need such "a security service." In addition, it will defend workers of the militia and members of their families from blackmail, threats, violence, and other such problems.

Today we are already receiving threats of the seizure of generals—both military and militia—as hostages. There have been instances of assassinations of workers of law enforcement organs. Abroad such a guard is considered a necessary, professional element: After all, it is quite possible that if some employee "goes after" a major Mafia group, there may very well be an attempt to get revenge. Such an order for the MVD is being prepared even now, but nothing is being written because of unfamiliarity with the subject. How does it, for example, protect the chief of the country's Main Administration for Combating Theft of Socialist Property? And why or why not? Each day he handles cases worth millions, and he is very "inconvenient" for many crime bosses. We must also organize a real defense for participants in trials, victims, and witnesses.

[Belykh] An adequate defense of witnesses is something that is still fairly far off in the future, while the militia guards administrative buildings and offices very carefully right now. We had a good number of agitated letters on that topic.

[Bakatin] Indeed, more than 30,000 employees of the organs of internal affairs are involved in this. Enterprises for mining and processing precious stones are guarded by 2,700 militiamen; hydraulic engineering equipment, by 3,400; trade, by 1,600; party and soviet organs, by 10,000; and ministries, departments, and public organizations, by 6,400...

These militiamen are maintained at the expense of those departments they guard. For instance, party funds go to the MVD for guarding facilities of the CPSU Central Committee. We do not guard at our own expense or at the expense of state funds. Except, perhaps, for museums. If, let us say, the headquarters of any one of the parties registered today needs a guard and it is prepared to pay for it, then I do not expect that there will be any problem.

Nonetheless, this year the MVD decided to remove 10,000 militiamen from these posts. We have already removed 2,500. We have a great shortage of personnel, and we need to transfer these workers to guard public order on the streets. Of course, not all militiamen desire such changes.

[Belykh] After Article 6 of the USSR Constitution was changed, the question of depoliticizing the MVD has arisen more and more often in the parliament and the mass media.

[Bakatin] Depoliticization is an empty word. It is unattainable in principle. Those who have recently left the CPSU for political reasons are hardly depoliticized. The majority of them are far more politicized than those who have remained faithful to the party.

I believe that right now we should not pull down the primary party organizations that currently exist in the MVD. To go to such lengths under conditions of political instability is not wise. Although in time political life will shift from the production sphere to the territorial sphere. Political organizations are another matter. It is necessary to unite them with the cadre services within the system of the USSR MVD as soon as possible.

In the process, however, we need a law on parties and a law on state service which would move all such questions from an emotional basis to a legal basis.

[Belykh] Vadim Viktorovich, permit me a personal question. Recently you were nominated to higher posts in the state and the CPSU three times: president, first secretary of the Russian Communist Party, and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and three times you withdrew your name. Why was that—a fear of the political struggle, or a wish not to leave your present post?

[Bakatin] I have already stated that I have never clung to any post. Nor is the post of minister of internal affairs a minor one. I do not feel any fear of the political process. I withdrew my name for other reasons.

To be accurate, there were five instances, not three.

When they nominated me for RSFSR people's deputy in Khakasia, I also refused. I believe that today it is simply physically impossible to combine leadership of a ministry and the obligations of a deputy. Such a combination of duties benefits no one.

And no one asked for my concurrence when all these nominations were made.

I myself decided that it was time to quit approaching such important issues lightly. In the five last years I changed positions four times: Inspector for the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary in Kirov, first secretary in Kemerovo, and minister. Certainly this is too much. I have never chosen where I would go and what I would do. Back then the style was that you did as you were told. I wrote the statement "I request that I be accepted for work..." only one time in my life, in 1960, when I graduated from the institute. After that, I went where they sent me.

Officer Discusses Possibility of Soviet Coup

SK3008085990 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Dialogue between station commentator Ilina Pavlova and military historian Major General (Mikhail Bonin): "Is a Military Coup Possible in the Soviet Union?"—read by announcer; statements by (Bonin) recorded in Russian, fading into Korean translation]

[Text] [Pavlova] Some people might say this is an awkward and strange question. However, this question has been discussed often in Soviet publications. No theme is banned in our Soviet Union. Moreover, this question is also brought up in our readers' letters.

Is such a worry well-founded? Is a military coup possible in the Soviet Union? I would like to know your view on this issue.

[(Bonin)] If such a rumor has reached even your ears, as a man who has served in the Soviet Armed Forces for decades from the post of an enlisted man to that of major general, I would like to ask you to view this as a vicious rumor. I am sure that all the soldiers in the Soviet Army and Navy, from enlisted men to high-ranking officers, clearly understand their occupational duty and constitutional duty. Their duty is to defend the fatherland from foreign enemies. Any attempt to wield the force of arms to take power would not be able to win support among the Soviet Armed Forces.

[Pavlova] Is your conviction based on the country's history?

[(Bonin)] I believe so. This is based on the path followed by the Soviet Armed Forces for approximately 70 years. Do you, as a reporter who is interested in history, remember any time when there were suspicions about the Armed Forces regarding this issue? In other words, do you remember any incident that made you believe that the Armed Forces might free themselves from the government's control and take power at home? I would like to remind you of the fact that it was the Armed Forces that stopped the path of Beriya, a butcher and conspirator who made up his mind to become a new dictator when Stalin died.

The Soviet Armed Forces treasure the interests of the working people, and the sons of the working people serve in these Armed Forces.

[Pavlova] Suppose those who propagandize falsehoods defend their own interests, while talking about the interests of the people. It is difficult to immediately know what they are doing.

The issue of the overall concept of the Armed Forces and the issue of those who give orders are different matters. Can there be, among them, people who like adventure so much?

[(Bonin)] I am fully aware that, under present circumstances in which views and positions are polarized in the leadership of the Soviet Armed Forces, all attempts to resolve the issue of power using the force of arms inevitably pose the danger of provoking a civil war. Also, our people know what civil war is, and they know what sacrifices and sufferings a fratricidal war can cause. Our people will not forgive those who cause a civil war.

Also, how will foreign countries and, in particular, NATO countries react to military coups in the Soviet Union? It is clear that the world would return to the cold war. Also, the Soviet Union would again face a complicated international situation. In this case, too, the Soviet people would not forgive the coup plotters. The Soviet

people took pains to foster the new political thinking, which upholds humanitarianism and peace as an ideal and attaches significance to universal human values.

[Pavlova] Let us recall what Colonel General Albert Makashov, commander of the Volga-Ural Military District, said during a meeting to found the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. Some newspapers considered this statement a threat to illegally wield military power. What do you, as a general and military historian, think of this?

[(Bonin)] Personally, I do not support the frightening logic of Lieutenant General [as heard] Makashov's comment, his rude words, or his radical sentiment inappropriate for a soldier. However, unlike the comment of [word indistinct], I think, Makashov's remarks comprise an ultimatum. He criticized some scholars and political commentators for unjustly attacking the Soviet Armed Forces. He stressed that, even though the West does not try to follow Soviet examples, the Soviet Union is taking the unilateral step of reducing its troops.

[Pavlova] I am not asking a question but rather elaborating on a (?reason). I cannot support your view. I got a different impression. To our dismay, Colonel General Makashov also used the very peculiar logic of [words indistinct] without replying to his opponents with regard to the essence of the issue. Many of the attacks against the Armed Forces are well-founded. Is everything in the Armed Forces idealistic? I would like to point this out, too. I think you remember when Academician Sakharov, during a meeting of the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, cited a few episodes from the war in Afghanistan, and, in turn, soldiers attacked Sakharov. However, former soldiers have formed the League of Democratic Afghanistan War Veterans, and this league is named after Sakharov. I heard some active members of this league say that Academician Sakharov spoke the truth. Then, do you not think that we must say that the nature of the Soviet Armed Forces is not idealistic?

[(Bonin)] I do not want to discuss the notion that the Armed Forces are above criticism. They have more than just a few defects, and their discipline has been relaxed. I cannot deny the fact that atypical things exist—things like physical punishment and violations of military regulations.

The Armed Forces are part of society and recruit personnel from society. I think that today the Soviet Armed Forces are the world's best organized and most united unit, and I believe they can brilliantly fulfill their patriotic duty of defending the security of the country.

I do not like Colonel General Makashov's logic. However, in replying to the criticism of him, he said that the Armed Forces have not participated in political plots and have not issued an ultimatum to their leadership at all. I support his statement. I also add that the military is not mapping out a plan to stage a coup but is trying to find ways to defend the security of the country, to carry out the task of converting the military industries, and to more efficiently assist restructuring.

[Pavlova] These have been the views of Major General (Bonin). His views are important and worth respecting. Also, other views exist.

Increase in Emigration May Cause Visa Problems

PM3008102490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by F. Ivanov on USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs briefing by Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the Visas and Registration Administration (UVIR): "UVIR Surrounded by Problems"]

[Text] In the first seven months of this year 233,680 Soviet citizens left the country for permanent residence abroad—nearly as many as in the whole of last year. These figures were given to journalists by Rudolf Kuznetsov, UVIR chief, at the regular USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs briefing.

The majority of those leaving the country—132,400 people—did so on so-called "Israel visas"; that is, three times the figure for the same period last year. The number leaving for Greece—16,800—represents a fivefold increase. Some 73,400 Soviet citizens have moved to the FRG, and 5,300 to the United States. Only 0.2 percent of those applying for permission to leave were refused. All of these people were involved with state and military secrets, and will be able to leave upon the expiration of the specified term.

According to R. Kuznetsov, the growth in emigration from the USSR is prompting some countries to introduce various restrictions. Thus, the number entering the United States has recently suffered a 60 percent reduction. The Australian immigration authorities are demanding that those applying for visas show a knowledge of English. Other developed countries are planning to adopt similar laws. In the view of the UVIR chief, all this could soon lead to a paradoxical situation whereby Soviet citizens will have the formal right to leave, but will not be able to take advantage of it. It is necessary without delay to work through the USSR Foreign Ministry to forestall this possibility and hold bilateral and multilateral consultations to find a solution acceptable to all.

But in all probability the main difficulties awaiting Soviet citizens who wish to emigrate are to be found here in our country, not abroad. R. Kuznetsov is very skeptical about the possibility of speedy implementation of the Law on Entry and Exit, which is to be adopted at the fall session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He said that virtually none of the services is ready for it yet. Thus, for instance, the factories of the Main Administration for the Production of State Insignia, Coins, and Orders can print only 2 million foreign passports a year. You can imagine how far the waiting lines will stretch at the visa offices, when 2.5 million people have already gone

abroad in just the first seven months of this year. Until recently the situation was saved by means of inserts in internal passports, on which USSR citizens could travel to East European countries. But in all probability the recent USSR Council of Ministers resolutions are designed to stop this practice.

Things are no better with the transportation workers. The waiting lines for rail and air tickets to certain countries are already nearly a year long. The anticipated substantial increase in the number of those wishing to go abroad could lead to total paralysis of our international routes and prompt wild speculation in tickets. But no steps have yet been taken to improve the situation. Things are no better at the border checkpoints, which are frankly swamped by the torrent of private cars going abroad. Questions of the sale of foreign currency to Soviet citizens have not been resolved, and some countries area already refusing to allow them into their territory without it.

The UVIR chief believes that sources of finance to back up the new law must be sought now. According to his estimates, it will take at least 10 billion rubles, of which the lion's share must be in foreign currency. Merely to buy printing equipment for the issuing of new foreign passports meeting world standards, which the UVIR has already designed in conjunction with the USSR Foreign Ministry, will cost several tens of millions of dollars.

Antidrug Operations, Investigations Reported

PM2908145190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by B. Vasilyev, employee of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry press service: "From Narcobusiness Caches"]

[Text] Perhaps no other branch of the shadow economy is so well provided with weapons as the narcobusiness. The tougher the struggle against it, the more often weapons are used.

Three days ago, 25 August, the bodies of two men were discovered in an apartment block on Novopetrovskaya Street in Moscow, in the apartment of the chairman of a production cooperative. In the opinion of an expert their death had occurred several days before from gunshot wounds.

While operational investigation measures are under way it is hard to say whether the underground narcotics business is involved here. But a report from Kharkov leaves no doubts. The workers of the local militia had substantial grounds for supposing that narcotics kept with a view to sale were stored in the home of citizen Fomasova. A check confirmed their suspicions. During the search they succeeded in confiscating from her six kg of poppy straw, 7.5 kg of hashish, 70 gold articles, radio apparatus, and money to the sum of 7,000 rubles.

Recently major industrial centers have increasingly been turning into the main consumers of narcotic substances whose tracks lead to the country's southern regions. As a rule they are shipped by rail which, despite its irregular operation, suits the criminals entirely: There is no examination or control. But even under these conditions the militia workers are still preventing the dissemination of the "white death." Thus, at Lvov station two inhabitants of Novocherkassk, Rostov Oblast, were discovered to be in possession of eight kg of poppy heads.

And in Miass City, Chelyabinsk Oblast, militiamen were obliged to use weapons. They arrested four unknown people who were harvesting poppies on household plots belonging to local inhabitants. The criminals offered desperate resistance. Using several shots Senior Lieutenant P.A. Pirog, chief of the Karabash City Internal Affairs Department protective force section, wounded one of them in the arm. It later emerged he was Khudyshkin, a worker at the machine building plant.

Leningrad, Minsk To Establish Fiber-Optic Link

PM3008102990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent N. Volynskiy: "Light Telephone"]

[Text] A fiber-optic link will connect Leningrad to Minsk. It will be about 730 km long. Just what is a fiber-optic link? Well, when we talk on a conventional telephone the signal is transmitted using electromagnetic waves along a metal cable. In the new system, however, the signal is carried by light. The eight-strand cable between Leningrad and Minsk is capable of carrying 15,000 conversations at any one time. Teletype, facsimile, and television communications can also be made using this line. And here is another interesting point: The glass cable will not oxidize or rust, nor does it face any electromagnetic or climatic impediments.

New Newspaper PODMOSKOVYE Published

LD3008095590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Summary] The new PODMOSKOVYE [MOSCOW AREA] newspaper appeared in Moscow and its oblast today. Its circulation is 100,000, and is being published by the Moscow Oblast Soviet. Its first issue contains excerpts from Yeltsin's book "Against the Grain." It is possible to subscribe for this newspaper anywhere in the country, and even abroad.

Economics

New Draft of Reform Program Outlined

904A0572A Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Aug 90 p 2

[Interview with A.V. Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform, by TRUD political commentator V.

Golovachev; place and date not given: "No Need To Fear Private Ownership"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] On 1 September the country's government is to submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet the completed, specific program of transition to a market economy. Only a little time to the specified deadline remains. How much will the program have changed compared with that which was presented several months ago by the USSR Council of Ministers to the USSR Supreme Soviet Third Session and which was rejected by our parliament and sent back for additional work? This was the question with which we began our interview with A.V. Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform.

[Orlov] In my view the program has changed most appreciably. And what will be presented now, in fact, is not one single solution but alternative versions pertaining to a number of questions. The choice will be up to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Particular attention in the government program is paid to special measures for a stabilization of the economic situation and a normalization of trade, social safeguards for the population under the conditions of the market, and support for enterprise and the privatization process.

[Golovachev] A serious matter which is being discussed extensively in society currently is the extent to which all this will be compatible with the economic basis of the Union treaty. The concept is being drawn up by a working group which was set up on the orders of the president of the USSR. As you know, it was formed in accordance with a joint arrangement between M.S. Gorbachev, B.N. Yeltsin, N.I. Ryzhkov, and I.S. Silayev.

[Orlov] The most important thing is that the program and the concept have a common goal: transition to the market. The debate is merely about the paths by which to accomplish this transition. I have to say that there will be much in common in both documents. Although there are a number of essential differences also, of course. I see nothing odd in this at this stage. A comparison of different viewpoints is always useful.

[Golovachev] So besides the government program, a concept developed by the "President's group" will be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet additionally as an alternative?

[Orlov] There is no need, I believe, to fear the "alternative" concept. After all, it is a question not of a counterpoise of the drafts but of the formulation of a common approach. As far as the concept of a Union program of transition to a market economy as the basis of a Union treaty is concerned, however, the question of whether or not to submit a document prepared by September for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet is within the competence of those who formed this working group. I would recall that direct supervision of the group's work is exercised by the president of the USSR and the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. The finished concept will be presented to them first of all.

[Golovachev] Much is being written in the papers about the "500 days" program, it being counterposed to the government program....

[Orlov] Let us be specific: This has not as yet been an actual program but interesting draft outlines, a concept, a version of the transition. There are here in my view many intelligent, unusual proposals. But acceptability must be proven by specific measures pertaining to realization of this concept.

[Golovachev] And what do you not like about it?

[Orlov] The "shock therapy" principle, for example. At the third stage—the 250th to 400th day—it is proposed to lift government control of prices. And despite the fact that preliminary measures are to be implemented and a system of social safeguards introduced (ration cards for a minimum assortment of merchandise and so forth), I am nonetheless convinced that a surge of prices in an impassioned society, given disorganized trade, could lead to unpredictable social upheavals.

[Golovachev] There is also another matter around which passions are raging—private ownership. The "500 days" proposes radical solutions....

[Orlov] This question is now considered just as candidly in the government program also. After all, privatization is already being practiced. The USSR Council of Ministers ordinance "Measures Pertaining to the Formation and Development of Small Businesses" permits the organization, like any other, of private enterprises with—in industry, for example—up to 200 employees.

[Golovachev] That is, 200 wage workers?

[Orlov] This term remains an irritant; still, the old dogmas and old sins die hard, but the essence is as follows: You may take on the requisite number of workmen on a contract basis. A contract is a hiring agreement. And on 8 August the USSR Council of Ministers submitted a draft of the corresponding parliamentary decree to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Golovachev] This is clear. But what about the sale of land?

[Orlov] The debate goes on, but there has been movement in this direction also. It is a question as yet of a "capitalist rent," but perhaps more precise wording also will have appeared among the alternatives before 1 September. I am hoping so, at least, for I believe in action in a pragmatic approach.

[Golovachev] Well now, reading these words, all fighters against exploitation and private ownership will be jumping up....

[Orlov] USSR Finance Minister V.S. Pavlov has already said in TRUD, as far as I recall, that the rate of

exploitation in our country is approximately double that of the developed countries—payments from the social funds also being considered. We have intimidated ourselves with "exploitation" and simply cannot overcome this dread. We have continually been frightened: exploitation, exploitation.... But there is, after all, world experience. To prevent the "plunder" of wage workers, strong labor unions and an extensive workers movement are needed. And it is then a question of finding a reasonable balance of interests between the strong labor unions and employer unions. This mechanism is a substantial protective barrier for millions of working people in the "social market economy." This economy is different of course in Sweden, in the FRG, and in Japan. But there is a strong social factor there. This cannot be denied.

Of course, with us also the working people must have a guaranteed minimum wage, guaranteed work conditions, pensions, and so forth. This I hope is understood. It is a question of finding within the framework of our choice the most efficient paths of management. And the transition to the market will be beneficial to all those people who want to work well. I saw this recently in Vorkuta, Ukhta, and Syktyvkar where, without waiting for programs from above, the fresh breeze of enterprise has been blowing. This could be seen in various fields—road-building, the creation of their own banks, and so forth.

[Golovachev] So you think that private businesses will very shortly be mushrooming?

[Orlov] No, collective forms will be developed initially. This means real leasing, joint-stock ventures, and true cooperatives. The process is under way. But a market environment has to take shape and the conditions ripen. On the one hand, small businesses—and their staff could be one, two, or ten people—can and will be created far more quickly.

[Golovachev] We often hear that upon denationalization and privatization the shadow economy and underground millionaires will take over everything....

[Orlov] The fears are, I believe, exaggerated. But nonetheless, let us see what is better: a shadow economy which has moved into broad daylight under the control of the state, regulated by taxes and subject to the enacted laws, or one which goes underground into the dark.

[Golovachev] Last fall the government presented economic recovery measures declaring: "Let us work tranquilly for 15 months, and then we may be held to account." Almost 11 months have passed and not only is there no recovery, on the contrary, the collapse of the economy continues. Are additional specific measures pertaining to a stabilization of monetary circulation in the country and the consumer market scheduled at this critical time?

[Orlov] Not only scheduled but already being implemented, although we need to act more decisively. A critical situation has taken shape in the sphere of monetary circulation. Tough steps cannot be avoided in this connection: for example, closing off national budget appropriations not used by the ministries and departments; prohibiting the financing from Union budget resources of production facilities whose construction has not begun; and appropriations for gratis assistance to foreign states have already been cut back in the latter half of the year. Expenditure on the maintenance of diplomatic and commercial representations in a number of countries has been scaled down; although the proceeds are not great, they are a saving nonetheless. The financing from the budget of expenditure on the maintenance of representatives of ministries and departments overseas is being cut back.... And much else.

As far as trade and the consumer market is concerned, special measures are needed here also. Conversion is getting under way, and this means hopes of additional television receivers, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, washing machines...and by the end of this year, what is more. Other specific steps are also being taken and projects developed. Here is just one example: Why not examine more rapidly, for instance, the question of purchases in Japan and other countries of second-hand machinery and its sale in the USSR?

[Golovachev] The final question. Is not all this large amount of work on the government program of transition to the market economy in vain? The republics are declaring independence, adopting their own programs.... For whom will the USSR Supreme Soviet decrees be adopted?

[Orlov] This is today a most difficult question. The republics' longing for sovereignty and independence is understandable. But there are, after all, common sense and realities which have to be taken into account. Centrifugal forces have already acquired such speed that the situation is getting out of control. Just a little more, and then either an explosion or super-emergency measures.... I read in a newspaper recently: "Democracy is replaced by dictatorship." For me and for my country, where in the Vorkuta tundra the camps of the Gulag may be seen, this could have disastrous consequences.

But I believe that the good sense of the people will prevail. I hope that it will be possible to devise acceptable principles of a Union treaty. This is an imperative of the transition to a market economy.

Government Ponders Market Economy Plans

PM3008094590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by Doctor of Economic Sciences Prof. D. Valovoy; "Notes From USSR Council of Ministers Session": "About the Market"]

[Text] As I listened to Academician A. Aganbegyan's report at the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium session on 17 August to evaluate alternative options for

the switch to a market economy, my thoughts kept on coming back to the illustration for the Krylov fable "The Swan, the Crayfish, and the Pike." The swan intends to fly off to the socialist ideal, the crayfish is sidling back to capitalism, and the pike is looking to dive deeper. What prompted this comparison? Judge for yourselves.

The 100 or so alternative options for the transition to a market economy examined in the report of A. Aganbegyan, chairman of the nondepartmental commission, are divided into three groups.

The first group is **options for nonmarket development.** These include various proposals for cosmetic repairs to the administrative-edict management system which essentially do not change the system. A number of the versions of nonmarket development do not reject in the long term the possibility of a switch to the market, but first it is proposed to use administrative management methods to improve the health of the economy. The commission believes that the "authors of these alternative plans are scoring points via propaganda of the ideas of social justice, the defense of working people's rights, and concern for preserving the values of socialism. They are prepared to recognize private ownership but without hired labor, propose every possible means of combating the shadow economy including via a monetary reform, and call for the strengthening of labor and contractual discipline." In general the speaker described this direction of economic development as harmful and as now running counter to the general consensus.

The second group is **options based on "market extremism."** Its main idea is to switch immediately to a free market. In this case prices take shape spontaneously under the influence of supply and demand, and producers must be totally independent. This direction of economic development precludes interference by the state, the speaker said, and effectively removes it from the economic arena. The gamble is solely on market regulators, which do not guarantee the social protection of working people and the implementation of society's long-term and strategic interests in the sphere of scientific and technical progress, the environment, and defense.

The third group is **options for a regulated market economy.** The commission deemed this direction to be the most advisable and thereby in principle supported the government program. Although there are a number of fundamental differences on specific problems between the commission's recommendations and the government program—particularly with regard to forms of ownership, prices and finance, investment and agrarian policy, and the system for the management of foreign economic activity—on the whole the government program seems to me more logical and the commission's recommendations seem more populist.

Members of the government, representatives of social organizations, scientists, and enterprise leaders took part in the discussion of the report. The discussion showed that utter confusion surrounds the market. "A modern market," the main speaker said, "is not only a market in goods but also a market in securities...." "The market is not only goods in the stores but also services," V. Ginko, USSR first deputy minister of railways, contended. V. Tizyakov, president of the Association of State Enterprises and Associations in Industry, Construction, Transport, and Communications, rightly remarked that many people understand the market as meaning a bazaar. I think that it is appropriate here to recall Engels' remark in the polemic with Duering over this problem: "It is impossible to argue with people who are so ignorant of political economy that they generally take the Leipzig book market for a market in the sense of modern industry."

So let us clarify: **Just what exactly is the market?**

Since ancient times a market has been defined as a place where produce and goods are sold (market square). But as the division of social labor and the transition from subsistence to commodity farming progressed, the concept of the "market" acquired an increasingly complex meaning. The development of commodity-money relations led to the formation of the **sphere of exchange** in the structure of social production. It is this that constitutes the "market in the sense of modern industry." There is the domestic and foreign market, the market in grain and computers, in cotton and cars, and so on and so forth. Do we have such a market? Of course. The market as the sphere of exchange exists objectively, and even to raise the question of any opponents of it is meaningless. But in our country the market is half-empty, and we need not to create it but to fill it. This can be done in two ways. By sharply increasing production of goods, or by hiking their prices and discouraging many purchasers from consumption—in scientific language this is called lowering the population's purchasing power. The latter way can be "effective" even when production volumes are declining.

Naturally, the question arises: **If we already have a market, what then is the "switch to the market" about which people are talking and writing at such length?** The market as an economic term is the theoretical expression of particular social relations. When it comes to the market as a regulator of production, what is meant is the **spontaneous** transfer of capital from one sector to another in the quest for higher profits on the basis of internal and external competition. Or let us take the "market price." This is the price that emerges **spontaneously** in the sphere of exchange according to supply and demand. Therefore **market relations** objectively presuppose free prices and total independence for producers. In other words, to call things by their proper names, what is on the agenda is the question of switching **from the planned system for managing the national economy to the spontaneous regulation of production via market prices and profits.**

Therefore the commission's classification of the options into groups is debatable. "Nonmarket development" is a

barter economy. No one is proposing that, although in practice it is becoming increasingly widespread. The first group of proposals speak of retaining the planned system of management as the dominant factor while combining it with the wider use of market attributes and the expansion of enterprises' independence on the basis of the Law on the Enterprise. Here is a characteristic detail. In a whole day's discussion of the "alternative" transition to the market the plan was not even mentioned. You get the impression that all roads used to lead to communism, but now they lead to the market?!

In my view, the commission's description of "market extremism," whose authors place the emphasis on the total independence of producers and on free market prices, is also extremely vulnerable. The essence of market relations is that producers must be absolutely free and act at their own risk, guided only by market prices and taxes. But certain economists want to take the positive elements from the market and jettison the negative elements; in particular, they are resolutely opposed to unemployment and uncontrolled price hikes. But that is impossible, just as you cannot add Nikanor Ivanovich's lips to the nose of Ivan Kuzmich and then add the burly body of Ivan Pavlovich.

In this connection the singling out of options for a "regulated market economy" as a separate group seems most debatable. In the commission's opinion, "market relations in such an economy are regulated by the state, and feedback exists between the spontaneous market mechanisms and state regulation." You get the impression that regulation of the market has something to do with the organization of balanced production. Nothing of the kind!

The need to regulate the market arose because of crises. Its aim is **to prevent a crisis of the overproduction of goods and of declining prices and profits on the one hand, and high inflation rates on the other.** For this reason the West makes extensive use of various forms and methods of dividing and redistributing sales markets and establishing quotas for the production of particular goods not only within the context of farms, firms, and companies, but also between states—for instance, in the EEC countries. Prescriptions borrowed from the mechanism for protecting the market **from a glut of goods,** but recommended in order to overcome our **crisis of underproduction,** to put it mildly look naive in view of this. To regulate an empty market is the same as putting a policeman on traffic duty at an intersection where there is no traffic.

Competition, which developed together with capitalist relations, is a powerful motive force of production in the market economy. It creates the conditions for implementing the law of value. But competition objectively presupposes that production capacities exceed the effective demand of the regulated market. For decades we described the 50 to 70 percent utilization of production capacities in the capitalist countries as the decay of capitalism and prided ourselves on the 98 to 100 percent utilization of them in our country, regarding this as a tremendous advantage of socialism. Without competition, market relations are inconceivable even in theory and cannot exist in practice. Does anyone doubt this?

No matter how fairly we curse our trade and supply system, they cannot be blamed for the critical situation that has taken shape in the sphere of exchange. The explanation lies in production. It calls the tune. And we are in a closed circuit of distribution and redistribution. A. Aganbegyan's report was also marked by a bent toward distribution. V. Protasov, general director of the "Spetsmash" Central Scientific Research Institute association; V. Geraschenko, chairman of the USSR State Bank Board; and a number of other speakers noted that questions of interest in production and labor productivity growth were not addressed in the report. And without incentives to labor, they said, no privatization or switch to leaseholding will yield the desired result.

Since the time of Adam Smith and David Ricardo it has been common knowledge that labor is the only source of increased wealth. Therefore the main factor in improving the health of the economy, let alone in economic prosperity, is **the steady improvement of labor productivity—but not measured by its former yardstick—and thereby the reduction of production costs per unit of use value.** But this is possible **either** in conditions of harsh competition **or** on the basis of planned prices, normatives, and tariffs and the total independence of all forms of economic management on equal terms. There is no other way! How we work today will determine how we live tomorrow. After all, foreign credits and the sham profits resulting from price hikes will do nothing to produce social protection.

The discussion showed that the cornerstone of the problem is the question: **Should the switch from plan relations to market relations be slow or immediate?** The commission supported the government regarding the advisability of a gradual, phased transition to market relations. This decision is coming in for harsh criticism. It is this that is sparking the greatest attacks on the government and is prompting demands for its resignation. Admirers of the crayfish are particularly active in this sphere. They use a fashionable thesis: "It will be no worse!" But this now convinces few people.

A phased transition to the market presupposes that plan relations should be squeezed out by market relations, but in our country there is a "flight from the plan." Plan regulators have now been deactivated, but even the conditions have not been created for market regulators. I by no means intend to idealize plan relations, and I criticized them when even many of today's bold radicals were in raptures over the socialist system of economic management or were not speaking up at all. Instead of eliminating defects and absurdities in planning and using its advantages to develop competition taking into account the diversity of forms of economic management, the dismantling of the plan system is now being completed. The baby has been thrown out along with the

bathwater, so to speak. As a result we have neither plan nor market relations. Anarchy is filling the vacuum. Clearly time will demonstrate that even a bad plan is better than "good" anarchy.

The situation is now extremely strained and is getting out of control. There is no competition, but anarchy is intensifying. Imbalance has reached its apogee. The consumer market can no longer function without ration coupons, cards, and passports. Hence the great temptation to embark on a massive sharp hike in prices. These prices will have nothing to do with the law of value. They will be 100 times more severely deformed than the previous prices. This will accelerate the massive switch to a barter economy and to a curtailment of the sphere of commodity-money relations. We have run up against what we were fighting against! An immediate transition to a free market may produce...the opposite results, including a democratic type of "war communism."

In these conditions I think it is not only useful but necessary to carefully heed the voice of V. Kudryavtsev, S. Alekseyev, Yu. Kalmykov, and V. Yakovlev, the country's leading jurists who write in their article "The Market: Jurists' Opinion" (PRAVDA for 7 July 1990):

"We assert with the utmost responsibility: At present the legal base for a regulated market economy does not exist in our country. The documents that are now being elaborated are merely acts regulating the transition to the market."

Reflecting on the jurists' warning, I recall an incident from my childhood. The young son of some neighbors who had no cow was visiting us. As always, my mother offered him some milk. But he proudly replied:

"No thank you, we will soon have some of our own."

"Are you buying a cow?" my mother asked.

"No. Grandfather's cow has calved. He has promised to give us it," he explained.

If a prophet is without honor in his own country, perhaps we should heed sensible voices from abroad. Margaret Thatcher, in particular, has said:

"You in the Soviet Union are trying to do in five to ten years what it took us centuries to achieve."

I think that as well as the experience of capitalist countries we should more attentively study experience of the transition to the market from the plan. Especially as, in addition to the experience of the transition to the market in Yugoslavia, there is now also experience of an immediate transition to the spontaneous formation of market prices under the influence of supply and demand in Poland. Their experience merits attention. But I particularly want to stress that in both Yugoslavia and Poland conditions for the transition to spontaneous regulation differ fundamentally from our conditions. Suffice it to say that their agriculture is mostly individual farming. The scale of the national economy and the level of monopolization are different. And also the time spent building socialism is different. Even so, the abandonment of the plan and the transition to a free market are proceeding in a complex, contradictory, and unpredictable fashion in those countries.

The discussion of specific problems at the session was also interesting. Thus the exchange of opinions about convertibility of the ruble seems useful. A. Volskiy, president of the Science and Industry Union, and V. Protasov, while supporting this idea said that first the ruble should be made convertible within the country so that it can be backed up with goods. Many speakers supported the commission's conclusions that the free exchange of convertible currency in our country is inadvisable since this still further devalues the ruble. Government head N. Ryzhkov also supported this viewpoint, which is bound to cause perplexity. So who then gave the go-ahead for this exchange?

V. Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, voiced disagreement with the commission's recommendations that price hikes be further postponed until the second half of 1991. There is no logic in this. He was supported by L. Abalkin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform. In his opinion the new prices, taxes, antimonopoly measures, social protection, and other market attributes should be introduced simultaneously. Yu. Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, spoke of problems in interaction between the center and the Union republics. There is a need for a single Union market. The national and regional breakdown of that market will set our economy back a long way. The session cited instances where, without the center's knowledge, Union republics have forbidden enterprises on their territory to conclude economic contracts with enterprises in other republics. Ministers N. Pugin and S. Kolpakov cited instances of the rupture of production ties established over the course of many years which not only leads to tremendous material losses but also hits the interests of production collectives of many thousands of people.

In conversation on this topic R. Bajalski, the well known Yugoslav journalist, said:

"Don't repeat our mistakes. Back in the early fifties we officially proclaimed the transition to a free market and declared the law of value to be the spontaneous regulator of production. However the state, preserving the foundations of socialism, sought social justice and, with good intentions, constantly interfered in the economy—it froze wages and prices, introduced various benefits for consumers, and so forth. The treaties with republics, which led to their economic isolation, also had an adverse influence on the development of market relations. As a result, for many years we were among the leaders in terms of unemployment and inflation. Last year inflation topped 2,600 percent! Essentially neither plan nor spontaneous regulators of production existed in the country. The whole world is now traveling the path of economic integration,

but you and we are developing the autarky of republics, regions, and producers. This is unnatural."

Highly contradictory viewpoints were expressed on the management structure of the country's national economy. B. Milner set out in detail various views on this problem, noting that the thrust of many proposals is to eliminate sectorial structures. During the comparison of various viewpoints many speakers thought that haste in this sphere is particularly harmful. The new management structures must economically supplant the old structures, proving their superiority.

Summing up the results of the discussion, N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, noted the commission's conclusion that there is no integrated comprehensive program for the transition to the market offering an alternative to the government program. But many alternative proposals were voiced on particular urgent problems, and these will be taken into account in finalizing the government program. This applies particularly to the section on the social protection of working people's interests. In N. Ryzhkov's opinion, this section needs substantial additional work.

Among the problems on which a successful transition to the market depends, N. Ryzhkov mentioned the integrity of the Union market and common rules of the game in that market. Attempts to introduce regional currencies, prices, taxes, and so forth will set us a long way back and will break up the single national economic complex into various parts, which will still further retard scientific and technical progress. He went on to mention a number of fundamental changes that the government is making to the reworked version of the government program for the transition to a market economy. This document will shortly be discussed at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Government's Economic Plans Called 'Half-Baked'

LD2908110190 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 29 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—A senior Soviet economist has described the Soviet Government's blueprint for the transition to a market economy as "half-baked and too slow." Academician Abel Aganbegyan, who heads the so-called "independent" commission studying ways to move to a market economy, made the comment at a press conference at the Soviet Foreign Ministry press center.

Aganbegyan said the commission had examined more than 100 draft programs but has yet to get the Soviet Government's revised program.

The commission's recommendations on some key provisions significantly differ from the government's (?viewpoint), he continued. For example, the commission proposed to first stabilise the consumer market and then decontrol prices as opposed to the government's plan of raising prices which will largely remain state-controlled.

The commission favoured speeding up the transition to the market by not only lessening state controls but even by "privatising" property.

"We also differ in the evaluation of the role of the foreign economic factor in the transition to the market," Aganbegyan said. There are appreciable differences between the commission and the government on the question of separating powers between the center and republics. The commission, in particular, rejects the government's centralist approach.

Aganbegyan would not be drawn [out] about his attitude to the work of the "presidential" group, set up a month ago by President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin. He only replied that "he did not have the results of its work." At the same time, Aganbegyan said he was aware of the high qualifications of people who made up the group.

Asked if both programs, the government and the president's, would be submitted for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet in the next few days, he replied: "I don't know. We gave our recommendations to both of them."

Poll Probes Attitudes Towards Price Reform

PM3008090590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by N. Kirichenko, scientific associate of the Economics Scientific Research Institute under the USSR State Planning Committee, and V. Rutgayzer, deputy director of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion; under the rubric "Public Opinion: Poll and Sociologist's Commentary": "Price Reform: For and Against"]

[Text] Specialists of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion have twice investigated, within an interval of 18 months, the attitude of the country's population toward the reform of state retail prices. The poll results show that the proportion of opponents of the reform constitutes a stable three-fifths of the population.

Opponents of the price reform are mainly groups of the population with average income levels. There has been a certain increase in the reform's supporters among the outer groups—those who are poor, and conversely those with high incomes. There are various reasons for this.

Poor sectors of the population believe that the compensation mechanism will enable them to maintain their former level of consumption of meat and dairy products, above all at state prices. And the planned price rise for the same meat and dairy products, for example, is not such a burden on the budget of high-income groups as for

the average-paid, particularly as they expect broader opportunities to realize their growing incomes as a result of the reform.

The population's attitude to the reform depends on how it perceives the government's actions. The poll results show that this attitude is critical now, and under such conditions there is no chance of securing the population's support for the reform's implementation. The situation can only change after a real improvement in the state of the consumer market.

Simultaneously with this condition, approximately one-third of those polled named another circumstance without which the state price reform is impossible: It must definitely be implemented in a democratic way and while observing the principles of social justice. This means, above all, that people should be offered a choice of several reform options, not just one option as they have been offered.

It is possible to implement not a single reform for the whole country but one broken down among regions and republics. At the time of the poll approximately one-half advocated just such a price reform option. The proportion of supporters of the regional scheme is particularly high in the Baltic republics and above average in Moldova, Belorussia, and Azerbaijan. The "centralist option" is supported more in Russia—up to 67 percent in the Far East—and in Turkmenia. But even in the very same regions the majority of city dwellers still tend toward the regional option, and rural inhabitants toward the centralist scheme.

Obviously the regional option for implementing the retail price reform has the same right to exist as the all-Union option. In our time we recommended drawing up a model of it, but unfortunately the recommendation was not adopted and only the centralist model was set forth in the government program in May 1990.

Everyone understands that the price reform will inevitably lead to an increase in the cost of living. The government has repeatedly declared that the population's losses will be compensated for. Our poll showed that the degree of trust in the promises of compensation adequate to the losses has fallen substantially over the past 18 months. In December 1988, 15 percent of the population believed in the possibility of full compensation, while 51 percent did not; in May 1990 the corresponding figures were nine and 78 percent. Even a considerable proportion of those who support the implementation of the price reform in principle do not believe the promises of full compensation.

How will people behave if the price reform is nonetheless implemented? We offered our respondents a wide range of choice—from seeking higher-paid work to moving to another region where the cost of living is lower. Nevertheless, 42 percent declared that they will be unable to do anything and will passively await a deterioration in their material position. In our view, the spread of such sentiments stems not from laziness but from the fact that in our present economy adequate conditions still do not exist for those who would like to earn enough money for a good life. The well-being of the majority of people is still determined by the potential of the state sector, and this potential is inadequate for "self-defense" against a price hike.

At the same time there are sufficient opportunities in modern society to manifest various forms of social protest. The replies to the question "How will people who categorically disagree with the reform most probably respond to a rise in prices?" break down as follows: Some 18 percent are prepared to resign themselves to it; 11 percent will perform worse work; 24 percent will make protests; 35 percent will go to rallies; 15 percent will organize strikes; 12 percent will resort to civil disobedience.... Compared with the results of the similar poll conducted 18 months ago, the population's position has become considerably more active if not to say aggressive. In principle, the longer the price reform is delayed, the less favorable will be the social ground which will receive it.

Opposing Views on Banking Reform Discussed

LD2908193190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Report by correspondent V. Stepanyuk from the "Vremya newscast]

[Text] Discussion continues in the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet on a package of draft laws prepared by the country's government on banks and banking activity.

[Stepanyuk] Today deputies of the Planning and Budget Commission exchanged views on this very complex problem. All this took place with the participation of the heads of the country's major banks and finance specialists and in a fairly tense atmosphere. For the sake of objectivity, we will cite two viewpoints in the discussion: that of an author of the government's outline of the banking system, and that of an opponent, a USSR people's deputy.

[V.V. Gerashchenko, Chairman of the USSR State Bank Board] Well, of those questions that were asked I cannot see any major, constructive criticism. Rather I see the question: Is the USSR State Bank not claiming too many rights for itself? But as I tried to explain to deputies in this case, we are claiming precisely what has been established by world banking practice and which is appropriate to us, and if this law were to undergo international examination I believe it would find approval there far more quickly than perhaps in our parliament.

[A.G. Zhuravlev, USSR people's deputy] I do not believe this draft will be adopted by the Supreme Soviet. And it won't be adopted, perhaps because of its key aspect. We are including toward the need to hand over banks from government to Supreme Soviet control. After all, apart

from the fact that we must have control over the budget—and proceeding from the budget, in practice to divide our powers, leaving the plan to the government—we must also have control over financial policy. The fact that today we are moving toward the need to keep the bank under our control represents our vision of how we will approach the market, because this law also convinces us that there is no serious desire to move truly to a market economy. There is a degree of camouflage: that is, if we pressurize the command-based administrative system it will, so to speak, gradually bring us to a market. It will not. We are convinced of this and attach great hopes to the constructive proposals now being prepard by a group formed by the decision of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

Minsk Tractor Plant Fails To Meet Output Target

PM2908160590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report incorporating letter from I. Kuleshov, director of the "Minsk Tractor Plant" production association: "And After All They Are Expected in the Countryside"]

[Text] Have a look at the picture. These tractors are needed for the gathering of the harvest; people are waiting for them at kolkhozes and sovkhozes [collective and state farms]. And they are standing quietly outside the Minsk tractor plant. What is the reason? I. Kuleshov, general director of the "Minsk Tractor Plant" production association, reported on this to the editorial office:

"For the first time in many years, the 30,000-strong collective of the association did not meet the plan for tractor production for the first seven months of the year. The collective has fallen into arrears with production under the production-sharing and spare parts production scheme to the tune of over one million rubles. Now we cannot dispatch almost 2,400 tractors to the countryside. They are incomplete.

"If these were our shortcomings we would try and put them right as soon as possible. But how can we ensure the collective's stable work if the Gosplan [State Planning Committee], the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], and the Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building have so far not fully allocated funds to the association for electrically welded, rolled, and seamless pipes, and if supplies of cold-rolled sheets have been suspended?

"We have not been sitting idly by. We appealed for assistance to our own ministry; to N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and to his deputies L. Voronin and P. Mostovoy. But we did not receive any assistance."

Formerly Secret Metallurgical Plant Revealed

PM3008094390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by nonstaff correspondent P. Shchuplov: "Beyond Levsha's Reach"]

[Text] Ust-Kamenogorsk—The vow of silence was recently lifted from the Ulbinskiy metallurgical combine in Ust-Kamenogorsk. It produces nuclear fuel for nuclear electric power stations and produces rare and very expensive metals—tantalum and beryllium—as well as superconductors of "various calibers."

And now I am familiarizing myself with the production of a heat-resistant and acid-resistant metal named in honor of the mythical king Tantalus, doomed by the gods to eternal torment. Before being turned into a strong, truly fairy-tale metal, the tantalum concentrates undergo multistage processing here, becoming first a white powder and then bars which are put into electron-beam furnaces for final finishing. Powerful electron guns bombard the bars with beams of high-temperature rays and turn them into a liquid mass.

"Our tantalum," shop chief V. Gavrilov says, "is used extensively in machine building, nuclear power engineering, and other sectors of the national economy, including medicine. This neutral product does not reject a living organism but on the contrary fuses with it. Surgeons use tantalum thread to sew up parts of the human body on which they have operated; rods are made from it to knit together bones and whole joints, and are rapidly overgrown with living tissue."

In the tantalum shop they are also assimilating the production of miniature electric engines for domestic equipment. The small motors set in motion meat grinders, juicers, mincers, and other household mechanisms.

V. Gavrilov familiarizes me with one more valuable product of the shop—small-diameter superconducting wire containing thousands and tens of thousands of fibers made of a special alloy. Their thickness is measured in fractions of a micron. So that such a conductor is simply beyond the reach of Tula's Levsha! [possibly allusion to skilled metallurgical worker in poem by Tvardovskiy].

New Firm Constructs Highway Around Chernigov

PM2908152790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Report by L. Ilchenko, cameraman V. Stepanenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Around 2,500 km of road will be built by a state road concern set up in the Ukraine this year.

[Ilchenko] This voluntary association of enterprises was set up after the republic's government abolished the

Ministry of Road Construction. Mindful of the transition to market relations, dozens of large and small production collectives which were previously part of the ministry pooled their efforts and started working for the main goal—to provide as many kilometers of quality roads for their customers as quickly as possible. The state commission recently commissioned the Chernigov bypass. This is a new section comprising a more than 50km stretch of the Leningrad-Kiev-Odessa Highway. The new road has also greatly pleased the residents of Chernigov who have long been in need of an improvement to their ecological situation. More than 20,000 heavy trucks use to transit the city every day, leaving a tonne of exhaust fumes hanging over the city. Many villages in the Chernigov area now have direct road access to the central highway. This year the road concern's enterprises are planning to build access roads to 500 remote villages in the republic. On the basis of new economic relations, the road builders' concern has concluded direct contracts with the Polish Republic for the joint production of road-building equipment.

Moscow 'Aviation-90' Exhibition Previewed

PM2908154590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by A. Kuvshinnikov: "'Aviation-90': Competition for Soviet Market"]

[Excerpts] There has long been talk of holding a prestigious worldwide Moscow air show on a level with those at Le Bourget or Farnborough. The idea is being aired, but it is a complex matter. The largest international exhibition of the year—"Aviation-90," a kind of intermediate step between an ordinary exhibition and an alluring show—will open at the National Economic Achievements Exhibition in less than one month. [passage omitted]

The A-310 airbus, identical to the machines soon to be supplied to Aeroflot, will make demonstration flights at Sheremetyevo. The Americans have suddenly realized the demand and very much want to show the Douglas MD-80 for medium-haul routes.

As the organizers of the exhibition, we are pleased that the world's leading aerospace corporations share our conviction that, despite all the present economic problems, the Soviet market is the market of the future, emphasized E. Fichtner [manager of the FRG firm organizing "Aviation-90"].

The businesslike mood of the exhibition organizers is obvious. S. Bolshakov [USSR deputy minister of the aviation industry] said at a news conference that it is proposed to show interested persons over the most modern installations of the Aviation Industry Ministry—the Ulyanovsk Aviation Complex, where aircraft being offered for sale might make demonstration flights, and the Zaporozhye Engine-Building Association.

The aviation industry is one of the few sectors of the Soviet economy capable of supplying competitive products for the world market—what is more, highly science-intensive, high-tech, and thus costly products. True, we have military design bureaus to thank for this for the most part. Will the in-depth conversion being carried out in the sector not undermine the technological standard reached? For, according to S. Bolshakov, the proportion of civilian output in the aviation industry has now reached 38.1 percent, having increased 10 percent over the past two years, and will stand at 42.6 percent in another year's time. Although on the other hand, conversion undoubtedly opens up immense scope for international cooperation, and thus for international technological exchange which also urges on national technical progress. Provided of course that aviation plants, on being converted, do not produce frying pans or even washing machines but the products they were designed for—aircraft.

For example, the new Il-76 TP fire-fighting aircraft, capable of carrying 40 tonnes of an extinguishing mixture, will be introduced at "Aviation-90." There is great interest in it since in recent years open fires over large areas—forest fires, above all—have become a major world ecological problem. But what is needed to fight them effectively is not only a tank aircraft, although this is the costliest part of the complex, but also large-capacity filling complexes, spraying equipment, and more effective extinguishing aerosols. We cannot manage here without a concerted international effort.

S. Bolshakov mentioned some commercial projects which attest to the high prestige of Soviet aviation technology—the project to create a supersonic aircraft for businessmen from the Sukhoy Design Bureau and Gulfstream Aerospace and a Soviet-Italian project for aircraft with ecologically clean engines. He confirmed the fact that requests for deliveries of Soviet fighters have been received.

Donetsk Mining Exhibition Shows Latest Equipment

PM2908152690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Report by G. Kondaurov, cameraman Li Din Khvan from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A report from Donetsk. An international exhibition of equipment, machines, instruments, and means of automation for the coal industry, "Coal-90," has opened there.

[Correspondent] The international organization for world coal studies predicts a 150-percent increase in extraction of this fuel in the next 20 years. Machinery is exhibited here that will help to achieve this leap forward. At the Soviet exhibition, attention is focused on machinery that will make it possible to extract coal without a permanent human presence at the face. It is remote controlled. Our coal machine building is also

taking advantage of the fruits of conversion. Specialists showed an interest in a powerful tunneling complex with a tank mounting.

At the exhibition, direct deals can be concluded with foreign firms. Some 120 of them are represented here from 15 countries. The biggest and most interesting exhibit belongs to the FRG. Here are powerful coal extraction complexes working at the highest level of productivity, interesting developments in the use of computer programs in the automation of coal extraction, from a participant in the exhibition on this problem, the joint USSR-FRG enterprise "Intercomputer." In short, the level of technology on show is high.

[I.K. Kolchik, electric welder and city soviet deputy] We do not see this equipment, most types of it, at our pits. So things are worse with us as regards the retooling of coal industry enterprises.

[A.A. Kalinin, drift worker at the "Petrovskaya" pit] We still have miners working by our grandfathers' methods. There are machines at the pits that were made in 1933 and in 1950, that is our main equipment, the equipment with which we now extract coal. And these new models, perhaps that is why they are on show at the exhibition, because they are not being introduced at the mines. The fact is the pit does not have the funds so it is not a client for this equipment.

Agricultural

Moscow Tobacco Rationing Set for 1 Sep

LD2908115190 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Tobacco shortages in Moscow show no signs of subsiding, and more than 3 million packages of home- and foreign-made cigarettes sold daily have so far failed to solve the problem. Because of massive panic buying, the Moscow city council has taken emergency measures to redress the situation. As of 1 September, cigarettes will be rationed and some brands will be sold at commercial prices.

Tobacco Growers Bemoan Labor Shortage, 'Attack'

PM3008085790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Report by V. Glukhovtsev and cameraman V. Lazarevskiy from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Here's a report from our correspondent in Alma-Ata Oblast, where the tobacco harvest has started.

[Glukhovtsev] Leaf-picking is under way—it is a tough and exhausting job. I do not know what people do abroad, but in this country there is no machinery that can replace manual labor for this operation. The pickers have to cover each tobacco plant six or seven times so as to pick off the ripe leaves starting from the bottom and working up. The tobacco harvest takes a long time and requires a large workforce. In years gone by Alma-Ata and surrounding rayons used to earmark up to 20,000 people for the job. Currently there aren't many people at the tobacco plantations. Hardly any people are being sent to the farms, and it is still unknown whether the rich harvest of this fragrant crop will reach its customers. This is because there has been a massive attack on tobacco growing in recent years—nobody knows on whose orders. The tobacco growers have been accused of spreading a harmful poison. They have been ignored at all official levels. Not only have they not been helped, they have been impeded. The antismoking campaign has turned into a battle against an age-old agricultural crop and those who grow it.

[Nasyrov] The area sown to tobacco has been sharply reduced. Production has fallen from 10,000 to 3,500-5,000 tonnes. And this has had a negative effect on the region's economy and farms.

[A.T. Abakov, secretary of Chilikskiy Rayon Party Committee] Nowadays it is always such a fuss to get hold of tobacco. We spend billions of rubles on acquiring grain and people can understand that. But people just cannot understand why we have to buy in tobacco when we can produce it ourselves. The specific feature of our rayon is that we have a professional tobacco production operation. And our tobacco is highly valued—there has certainly been a lot of talk to that effect.

[Glukhovtsev] You say you have had to cut back sharply the area sown to tobacco on your sovkhoz [state farm]?

[I.B. Kamirdinov, director of the "Bartogay" Sovkhoz] For instance, we used to grow tobacco on 600 hectares. And we used to produce around 1,200 tonnes of leaf. Currently, we are growing it on just 200 hectares, because we are not getting any help during the tobacco harvest. And now we are just producing 350 tonnes of tobacco. This is three and one-half times less.

[Glukhovtsev] Because of the reduced sowings of tobacco the rayon lost around 30 million rubles last year. Add to that the loss of specialist tobacco growers, the loss of established traditions, and the riots by smokers left without tobacco. The people of Chilikskiy Rayon believe the damage can be rectified. Except that additional labor is needed and the tobacco growers should not be prevented from doing their job. It is still possible to repair what has been damaged. One last point. Look at this old worker. She takes nectar only from pure nature. Green tobacco is harmless. There is no need to be afraid of it.

Scientific

New Engineering Academy President Interviewed

LD2908152690 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 29 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow August 29 TAS—Far from competing with the USSR Academy of Sciences, a recently established engineering academy will concentrate only on applied sciences.

Its president Boris Gusev told TASS that the engineering academy, which has direct links with industrial enterprises, will help introduce scientific developments into production.

"This is a non-governmental, independent organisation," Gusev continued. "We will operate on the principles of cost-accounting and self-financing. Funds will be generated from the sale of scientific and technological developments, an independent analysis, and a network of research centers. We are ready to forge relations with government structures but only on a contractual basis, remaining independent in tackling scientific and engineering tasks."

The new academy will so far deal with 12 areas including machine-building, material science, computing equipment, and power engineering.

Gusev said he was opposed to the politicisation of the academy, but believes that scientists are an integrating force capable of offsetting the "centrifugal forces" threatening to tear the USSR apart.

Brest Factory Produces Improved Dosimeter

90UN2612C Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 27 Jul 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The 'Don' and... the Gamma Background"]

[Text] Workers of the Brest Tsvetotron plant have been able to master the output of new products with the help of the Don-1500 combine. Of course it was not the machine itself that worked for the specialists, but the technology for the manufacture of electronic systems for it. By using the batching items that had been tested in practice, they created the Polesye household dosimeter which is better than others in terms of many parameters.

It took the creative group only a half year to assemble the first instrument for registering the gamma radiation background and submit for the judgment of an independent commission. The range of the Polesye's measurements is from six to 1,200 microroentgens per hour. The instrument is economical, compact, and about half as expensive as existing domestic models. It is planned to send the first batch of these new items to the consumers this summer. And the enterprise will begin to manufacture a total of no less than 30,000 dosimeters annually.

Military

Yazov Addresses Conference on Military Reform

LD3008085990 Moscow TASS in English 2112 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—A conference of political instructors working in the Soviet Army and Navy is now under way in Moscow. On Wednesday, Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Dmitiry Yazov told the conference about the ideological aspect of military reform and changes in the Armed Forces and military building in conditions of modern international development and the current stage of perestroyka.

Yazov focused on specific task of ideological work and its new content, character, and forms connected with radical transformations in the composition, structure, and training of the Army and Navy; the maintenance of their combat capability at the needed level; and the strengthening of organisation and discipline in the Armed Forces.

The minister stressed the unprecedented nature of ideological work connected with the worsening of inter-ethnic relations in some regions and the emergence of secessionist and nationalistic tendencies in the activity of unofficial organisation and associations and even in some republican and local bodies of authority.

The minister said that much now depended on the political position of the Army and Navy and their officer corps. This position is in close accord with the decisions made at the 28th CPSU Congress. It is necessary to infuse the spirit of this policy into military reform and all transformations in the Armed Forces, Yazov stressed.

The conference was attended and addressed by Politburo member Aleksandr Dzasokhov.

It will continue work on Thursday.

New Air Force Chief Outlines Life, Concerns

PM2908140590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 p 1

[Interview with General Ye.N. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the USSR Air Force, by correspondent A. Krayniy; place and date not given: "General Shaposhnikov in the Sky and on the Ground"]

[Text] [Krayniy] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, please tell us about yourself.

[Shaposhnikov] I was born in 1940 in Rostov Oblast, an ordinary worker's family of the war period: mother, three children. My father died literally a few days before the end of the war—27 April, 1945—in East Prussia, and we did not go to his grave for many years. You could say I found it accidentally. In 1981 I was involved in exercises in the Baltic region, and workers at the Kaliningrad Military Commissariat helped me. I traveled to the village of Russkoye, approached the headstone on

the common grave, and read the words chiseled on the stone: "Sergeant Ivan Sevastyanovich Shaposhnikov."

Life was difficult for us without father. I worked every summer, for example, and my brother and sister did too. Summer holidays, pioneer camp—we knew none of these things.

[Krayniy] Is it the case that the difficulties of your life affected your choice of profession? After all, military school brings with it full state provision.

[Shaposhnikov] It did not happen entirely like that, although undoubtedly I did not want to be a millstone around my mother's neck. All the same, my main reason was quite different. Directly above our house was an airfield flying zone. I grew up to the sound of engines. And in general, the pilot's profession was surrounded by a romantic halo for us boys. So when I graduated school I had no doubts I would go only into aviation.

[Krayniy] And then?

[Shaposhnikov] And then the academy and flying work. I began flying on Yak-18's, then I mastered MiG's—MiG-15's, MiG-17's, and MiG-21's, in all the versions, and finally settled on the MiG-23. I very much want to fly the MiG-29 and the Su-27. I have been itching to do so and have gotten into the cockpit on many occasions, but....

[Krayniy] Health?

[Shaposhnikov] No, I have not been grounded, but you know you have to prepare and undergo retraining and I do not have the time, especially after my recent appointment.

[Krayniy] No doubt also the senior chiefs, as they say in the Army, would not let the commander in chief fly?

[Shaposhnikov] There is that as well, though I want to fly very much. After all, I am a fighter pilot used to speed.

[Krayniy] Yevgeniy Nikolayevich, you have become commander in chief at the age of 48—young for a commanding officer....

[Krayniy] Are you hinting at high-placed sponsors? I must disappoint you—there will be no sensation. I have no sponsors; circumstances simply came about this way. I went through all the posts that there are in the Air Forces successively, from pilot to deputy commander in chief. And I became commander in chief when my predecessor was appointed to the Council of Ministers Commission of the Use of USSR Airspace.

[Krayniy] Is there a need for yet another department?

[Shaposhnikov] There is the most urgent need for this department. We have too many air bosses in the country. There is the Air Force and the Air Defense, Naval Aviation and Civil Aviation, and so forth. The existence of different departments had begun to seriously hamper the normal use of airspace. This was why the decision was taken to create an independent commission.

[Krayniy] You have moved from one office to another. What has changed?

[Shaposhnikov] The level of responsibility. I was deputy and responsible only for my own line: military training, training facilities, and so forth. Now I am commander in chief and consequently carry personal responsibility for everything that happens in the Air Force.

[Krayniy] Has your daily routine changed?

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, my working day has become longer. When I am in Moscow, coming to work at 0700, I leave as a rule at 2030. That is five days a week. On Saturday I work until six, and on Sunday until lunch.

[Krayniy] And what about the Labor Law Code, Yevgeniy Ivanovich?

[Shaposhnikov] There are no trade unions in the Army. But to answer you seriously, it's part of the job and there is nothing that can be done about it. If I began work at nine, then I would have to return home toward 2200 or 2300.

[Krayniy] Incidentally, Yevgeniy Nikolayevich, on the subject of home....

[Shaposhnikov] You can congratulate me on my new house. I obtained an apartment a month ago; up till then I lived in Army quarters in Lyubertsy.

[Krayniy] But surely they give apartments to generals right away?

[Shaposhnikov] Those are outdated stereotypes. Not right away. Well, then in the Armed Forces Main Headquarters I was chairman of the housing commission. How do you think it would look for a man who oversees the legality of the receipt of housing authorization to get himself an apartment without waiting in line? It's.... Well, I don't know, shameful. How is it possible to behave like that?

[Krayniy] And there is an acute problem with housing in the Armed Forces in general?

[Shaposhnikov] That is one of our sore points. There are 40,000 people without apartments in the Armed Forces, including 5,000 airmen. For the sake of justice it must be said that much was done last year both by us and—the main thing—in the Ministry of Defense. Not only in the way of apartments but generally for the improvement of living conditions for officers, warrant officers, and their families. You see, people have begun to earn more. There is a ministerial order for the financial compensation of people who rent living quarters. In the near future a labor probation course will be maintained for the wives of servicemen who do not work because there is nowhere to work. As for the Air Force, beginning from this year we will use 70 percent of the money allocated to us for

social, cultural, and consumer services and 30 percent for the maintenance of airfields; in past years this correlation was the reverse. However, the priority must be people.

[Krayniy] Yevgeniy Nikolayevich, what other worries do you have as commander in chief?

[Shaposhnikov] One of the main problems is the aircraft fleet and our relations with industry. Here too we must transfer to market relations. For instance, a design bureau will give us a plane later than we ordered it for, or it will not meet tactical and technical specifications—in speed or maneuverability—so we receive less than we ordered. At the moment we are sometimes forced to take an unfinished plane and finish it ourselves. Which takes years. We will decisively break with this practice.

[Krayniy] Yevgeniy Nikolayevich, a last question. What is your attitude to the press?

[Shaposhnikov] Favorable. For instance, I read KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA regularly. In my view, you do make some distortions when you write about the Army, but we won't purse our lips in umbrage and come running with complaints that we have been offended; it is not manly. I am sure that Soviet people have a right to know what is happening in the Army—it is they who maintain us when all is said and done. If we are coming to agreements with the Americans, then we will find a common language with the press too, and we will willingly make any contacts with them.

[Krayniy] Thank you for talking to us, and I hold you to your word: You want to fly long-range aircraft.

[Shaposhnikov] Forward, then!

Baltic Republics

Prunskiene Not To Attend Baltic Conference

LD2908210590 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Today the prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, Kazimiera Prunskiene, sent a message to Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, refusing to take part in a conference of the Baltic states on the 2-3 September in Ronneby, Sweden.

The aim of the conference is to develop economic and ecological cooperation among Baltic states. Leaders of many European governments have been invited to the conference.

The Lithuanian prime minister writes that she intended to attend the conference, but a message received from the Polish and Swedish prime ministers which explains that the Republic of Lithuania would be represented within the composition of the Soviet Union delegation has compelled her to change her previous decision. The prime minister stated that she is unable to take part in the conference at the proposed status, and recalled that the government of the Republic of Lithuania has been functioning as the executive power of an independent state.

Lithuania, Kaliningrad Relations Noted as 'Sour'

LD3008091990 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The 400th jubilee of the translation of the Bible into the Lithuanian language was celebrated last weekend in Kaliningrad, formerly Karaliaucius. Juozas Kavolis comments:

[Kavolis] On this occasion a large excursion to Kaliningrad was planned in Lithuania. [passage omitted] The celebration took place, but it was attended by very few people, about 50 of them. Almost all of them were from Lithuania, although some 14,000 Lithuanians are residing in Kaliningrad Oblast. Apart from that, the Kaliningrad authorities did not give permission to hold this celebration, but also did not prevent it. The Lithuanians were not allowed to approach the walls of the destroyed cathedral. There was an anonymous telephone call that mines have been placed in the cathedral territory. [passage omitted]

Why were there so few people from Lithuania? Why was the celebration ignored by local Lithuanians? Why did local authorities react in such a way to this event linked with their own history?

Having replied to these questions we will see how sour, to put it mildly, the relations are between Lithuania and Kaliningrad Oblast. The major part of the local population in Kaliningrad, like elsewhere in the Soviet Union, views Lithuanians as separatists, as people who are destroying the Soviet system. Yet, in Lithuania itself a large part of the population regards the local inhabitants of Kaliningrad as Soviet immigrants. There is no need to have anything to do with them.

Thus, friction is unavoidable. Very often the Lithuanians are called nationalists and speculators, and in Lithuania the Kalinigraders are regarded as people coming to buy Lithuanian food. Even more absurd things happen. Some people in Kaliningrad maintain that this is the land which belonged for centuries to Russia and, according to the Russian-speaking residents, the Klaipeda port should belong to Kaliningrad, that is, to Russia. Meanwhile, there are people in Lithuania who, completely disregarding reality, demand that Kaliningrad should be without delay attached to Lithuania and Lithuanized.

But, there are signs that the relations between Lithuania and Kaliningrad may improve. First of all, there are attempts to regard in a more sober way the painful history of that part of the world. Secondly, people are well aware of the fact that no matter what kind of a state Lithuania will be in the future, the path of Kaliningrad to Great Russia will go through Lithuania. Thirdly, there are opinions in Kaliningrad that a free economic zone could be established there. Geographic position is very favorable for this purpose. Lastly, it can be expected that this academic year the Kaliningrad authorities will have a more liberal attitude toward the problems of local Lithuanians, allowing Lithuanian lessons in their Russian schools. [passage omitted]

Leningrad Asks Lithuania To Resettle Migrants

PM2908083390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Second Edition p 7

[PRAVDA, TASS, INTERFAX report: "Will Homes Be Constructed"]

[Text] Many Russophone inhabitants of Lithuania have expressed their desire to take up permanent residence outside the republic, particularly in Leningrad or Leningrad Oblast. The Leningrad Oblast Soviet Executive Committee has stated that the resettlement of the Russophone population of Lithuania in the oblast is possible if the Lithuanian Republic finds the money to erect housing for the migrants and uses its own construction organizations to carry out the work.

Latvian Party Paper's Old Name Preserved

PM2908154390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[PRAVDA-TASS report: "New Newspaper"]

[Text] The first edition of the Latvian Republic's new newspaper, NEATKARIGA "CINA" (INDEPENDENT "CINA") has been published. The second word of the name is in the same print as the name of the previous newspaper—CINA, the organ of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. Thus it is apparently being

confirmed that this editorial collective is continuing the traditions of the venerable communist newspaper.

Restoration of Latvia's Aizsargs Reported

PM2908140390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel M. Ziyeminsh: "Aizsargs Are Returning"; final two paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA comment]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian citizens' committee is continuing to implement consistent measures to restore the notorious military-political organization of Aizsargs (defenders).

On 25 August this work entered a new phase: It is believed that activity to restore this organization has moved from the theoretical to the practical field. The latest session of the Latvian committee appointed the organization's leadership.

One of the activists—Ya. Riba—gave a public oath of loyalty to the Aizsargs' ideals. This act, incidentally, was not overlooked by republican television and those who took the oath included several deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet, who are at the same time members of the Latvian committee.

To judge by reports in the local press, branches of this organization are already operating in a number of places. For instance, in Balvskiy Rayon a group of 40 people is headed by State Automobile Inspection Chief Senior Militia Lieutenant Yu. Boldans. The program of activity of the newfound defenders includes establishing close ties with those members of the "old guard" who are still alive, studying karate methods, and creating a reliable chain of notification in the event of any operational actions. Plans are also being nurtured for taking possession of the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy property and training base.

Not so long ago the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau resolutely expressed itself against the re-creation of the "defense organization," recalling its bloody past and the fact that this will lead to the destabilization of the situation. In its appeal to the republic's Supreme Soviet and government the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau asked that effective steps be taken to ban any activity to restore this organization. What was the reaction? Apart from a formal verbal condemnation there have so far been no measures from these bodies.

Our information: The Aizsargs organization arose in 1918. The actual name "Aizsargs" means "defenders" in translation. Their task included "the defense of the people of Latvia and the Latvian state." The Aizsargs had their own uniform. The structure of this organization's armed formations included naval and air subunits. The Aizsargs took an active part in the 1934 coup d'etat when President Ulmanis dissolved the legitimate government and established a dictatorial regime. The organization was disbanded in 1940.

It is now planned to create five regiments of 1,000 men each.

Estonia Debates Privatization, Border Issues

LD2908174690 Moscow TASS in English 1709 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Tallinn August 29 TASS—The Estonian leadership is now debating prospects for privatising the economy and housing, as well as shifting borders between this Baltic republic and Russia. The variety of views is astonishing.

The SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA newspaper reported today that the presidium of the republican parliament discussed a bill on privatising the state-owned distribution and service network on Tuesday before sending it on to the legal and economic commissions. It decided to set up a special working group for an expert examination of proposals to review the border with Russia.

Privatising state property poses a number of problems. This is why the government intends to begin by selling small enterprises to private owners in order to accumulate experience and work out an acceptable mechanism.

Numerous questions are awaiting answers: How can justice be ensured when acquiring property? What is to be done with enterprises which do not fetch their initial price? Does the buyer's citizenship matter?

The basic provisions for the privatisation of housing published today stipulate that residence qualification is a must for buying housing in the republic. The government proposes to sell housing only to people who were born in Estonia or have lived there not less than 25 years.

The border issue has acquired a specially delicate character against the background of promising negotiations with the Russian Federation. Estonia is claiming land it ceded to Russia before the Second World War. Head of the Estonian parliament Arnold Ruutel said he had discussed the issue with Russian President Boris Yeltsin during their recent meeting in Yurmala.

Judging from the report, some members of the Estonian parliament presidium view the formulation of the issue as an act of provocation. Others suggest a compromise solution: ceding one territory to Russia and returning the other one to Estonia. The majority favours rescinding the regulatory enactments which recorded the decision to cede land to Russia but deputies differ on how and when the decision should be made.

Estonian Officials View Relations With USSR

90UN2706A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 17 Aug 90 p 1

[Report on interviews with Estonian Communist Party officials L. Annus and R. Palmar by correspondent S. Balyutskiy in Tallinn-Vilnius; date not given: "But Is It Possible Not To Slam the Door?"]

[Text] The statement of the president of the USSR regarding the decree adopted by the Estonian Supreme Soviet "On Relations of the Estonian Republic and the USSR" was interpreted in Estonia itself, as it is now fashionable to say, not unequivocally.

L. Annus, first secretary of the Kalininskiy Raykom [Rayon Party Committee] of the Estonian Communist Party of the city of Tallinn:

[Annus] The first thing that struck me personally is that part of the statement that talks about the creation of a principally new Union—a Union of sovereign states. This, in my opinion, would open up broad prospects for us. But what is troubling is that today's leaders of the republic, figuratively speaking, after slamming the door at the session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, are now not giving this statement any attention. Everything has been done in the republic so that it would receive the least possible publicity.

Members of the Estonian Communist Party who support its ideological and organizational unity with the CPSU support Estonia's sovereignty and independence. And at the same time they believe that an independent Estonia should join the system of the new Union of sovereign states, which is what the president proposes. And I absolutely do not understand the position of Politburo member E. Sillari, head of another wing of Communists, who proclaims only a policy of establishing an independent Estonian republic outside of the USSR. Somehow one does not jibe with the other.

[Balyutskiy] How was the statement received in the republic?

[Annus] Many of the residents perceived the statement as very good. There was even a kind of emotional uplift when support on the part of the president was sensed.

[Balyutskiy] Did the statement increase tension in Estonia, or, on the contrary, did it somehow relieve the sociopolitical tension?

[Annus] The statement did not do one or the other. But the fact that people who are for the unity of the Union feel a sense of moral support can have very great significance.

R. Palmar, deputy chief of the Ideological Department of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee:

[Palmar] The statement was received very calmly in Estonia, without any emotions, which were typical of the reaction to statements that were made earlier. It was published with brief comments only in one Estonian newspaper.

What would I give attention to? First and foremost, to the words in the statement about the fact that the Estonian Supreme Soviet is ignoring the will of all the Estonian people. For, according to recent public opinion polls, 96-97 percent of Estonians want Estonia's independence. (Apparently, R. Palmar is confusing the sample poll of Estonians with a referendum of all of the people of the republic. Which changes the matter substantially—Editor).

The most sensible thing to do today is to see to it that the process of achieving independence moves smoothly, without excesses. It is also very important to preserve, no matter what, normal economic and political relations with the Soviet Union.

[Balyutskiy] But will the "Lithuanian situation" not be repeated in Estonia, in which parliamentarians will have to put a moratorium on their own decisions?

[Palmar] The decree "On Relations of the Estonian Republic and the USSR," of course, is most of all a matter for the Estonian Supreme Soviet. But it seems to me that it is simply a declarative act, which once more shows the will of the parliamentarians and nothing more. It really does not resolve problems. They are resolved in other ways and on a realistic basis.

[Balyutskiy] That is, problems should not be resolved by strong-willed methods, but through a search for compromise and the attainment of a consensus?

[Palmar] Unquestionably. Only in this way. There simply is no other way. [end Palmar]

If it were not for the different evaluations of the statement—the clearly approving one of my first interlocutor and the restrained if not cool one of the second interlocutor—it would be difficult to suppose that they are in different political camps....

I. Annus and R. Palmar emphasize that they see Estonia as a sovereign state. The main thing for them is the welfare of the people of Estonia. That there should be only good relations with the Union, and, what is more, very good relations.

There is only one difference: To achieve this in a Union or outside of it?

I do not want to lecture anyone, but common sense suggests that there is only one way out of this situation: not to discard either one of these versions. Evaluate both, consult the people, and only then decide. And not to slam doors shut....

Estonian Committee Backs Citizen ID Cards

90UN2706B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Leonid Levitskiy: "Instead of a Passport—an Identification Card"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian Committee has decided to issue identification cards to citizens of the Estonian Republic.

It will be recalled that the Estonian Committee is a unique alternative organ to the Supreme Soviet of the republic. It is true that many of its members are simultaneously parliamentarians. The Estonian Committee was elected by those who lived or whose parents lived in the republic before 1940.

"It is very important that the issuance of identification cards be conducted on a proper basis. It must be clear whether we consider ourselves to be citizens of an Estonian Republic established in 1918 and which is continuing its existence, or whether we are talking about citizenship in the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] administrative unit that was created by occupying authorities and which now carries the designation Estonian Republic," emphasizes one of the members of the Estonian Committee in VECHERNII TALLINN.

The exchange of a passport for an identification card is mostly a question of policy. It actually denotes the establishment of citizenship without the elaboration of a law that regulates this very important process, and a total rejection of the "zero version," that is, of granting equal rights to everyone who lives in Estonia. The possessor of a passport will be deprived of the ability to participate in elections to the State assembly that replaces the Supreme Soviet. Any ownership of property will also become very problematical for him. Thus, fears that the population of the republic will consist of people of a first and a second category are not that groundless. Moreover, they are aggravated by statements of the leaders of the Estonian Committee concerning the desirability of 200,000-300,000 people leaving Estonia.

The following is said in comments published in VECHERNII TALLINN: "The board of the Estonian Committee must explain to non-Russians that they are not excluded from the sphere of citizens in principle. The future State Assembly of Estonia will adopt a law on the basis of which citizenship can be granted to persons who seek it—now or in the future."

Assistance in printing an identification card was offered by the central Estonian Council of Canada. A special fund was set up for this. The committee is also counting on the support of local organs of authority. They really have not expressed their point of view on this score as yet. As also the Supreme Soviet of the republic and the leaders of the People's Front and the Communist Party.

Baltic Trade Unions Issue Riga Declaration

LD2908003990 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Report by Edvinas Butkus]

[Text] The delegations of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian trade unions have adopted a declaration, during their consultations in Riga, in which a stand has been adopted, among other things, for trade union independence from government organs, political parties, and employers.

In place of the formerly state-controlled trade unions in the three Baltic states, independent ones are attempting to establish themselves. For the time being however, this process, at least in Lithuania, has removed mostly the leading trade union structures, while it is being regarded skeptically by the subordinate ones.

In basing itself on Lithuania's experience, the joint Baltic State Trade Union Declaration categorically condemns attempts to nationalize trade union holdings.

The Supreme Council of Lithuania, had expressed such an intention about a month ago, toward the end of the first session. Most probably discussion concerning nationalization of former trade union holdings will resume at the second session in September.

At the Riga consultation, the Baltic states' trade unions have resolved to coordinate their actions and to support each other.

RSFSR

Polozkhov News Briefing Outlines Party Congress

LD2908141290 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 29 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishviliy and Vladimir Dunayevskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The agenda of the second stage of the constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party will include the adoption of a programme of action, endorsement of the proposal for a Central Auditing Commission and the election of its chairman, and the election of the Control Commission. The congress will open in Moscow on September 4.

Ivan Polozkov, chief of the Russian Communist Party, summed up the draft action programme at a news conference in the press centre of the Soviet Communist Party today.

He emphasised that Russian Communists firmly adhere to the plataform of the 28th congress of the Soviet Communist Party. They call for a decisive restructuring of Russian society, for the revival of its statehood and culture, for national independence, improved living

standards and; the consolidation of friendship and cooperation of peoples of the republic and the entire Soviet Union.

In regard to the transition to market relations, Polozkov said that the Communist Party favours a market, but it should be "an organised, socialist market based on healthy competition and subjugated to the interests of the working people."

He also declared for a policy of direct state influence on the resolution of strategic scientific and technological tasks and the development of key industries."

Stressing the importance of easing social tension and stabilising the economic situation, Polozkov said that the Russian Communist Party intends to cooperate with the government, the Supreme Soviet and political and public movements of the Russian Federation in a businesslike and constructive way.

"Our goal is to create a really democratic party, the actions of which will be governed by the supremacy of the masses of Communists and by reliance on primary party organisations," Polozkov said.

He said that the draft programme of the Russian Communist Party was formulated by the preparatory committee of the constituent congress of Russian Communists with the participataion of members of the Central Committees of the Soviet Communist Party and the Russian Communist Party, delegates to the congress, representatives of "Communists of Russia"—a group of deputies from the Congress of People's Deputies to the Russian Federation, various public organisations and scientists.

The congress is to hear a report by the Credentials Commission in connection with the refusal of 15 delegates to participate in further work of the congress, Polozkov said.

Communists Oppose Holding Russian Party Congress

LD2908155390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Muscovite delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress have opposed the decision from above to hold the second stage of the forum of the communists of Russia in September, even if it reflects the views of the majority of the party organizations in other regions of the country.

At a meeting of the Delegates Club of the Moscow City CPSU organization, where the matter of the timing of the convocation of the party congress was being examined, all of its participants displayed rare unanimity in assessing the initiative of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party. Who needs this haste, and what has brought it about, they asked one another, finding no answer. After all, the draft action program for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party has only just been published, they haven't yet had time to discuss it in the primary organizations, and already a congress is being convened.

The speakers at the meeting of the Delegates Club of the Moscow City CPSU organization said the information from the primary organization was not very comforting—many had only just begun to acquaint themselves with the draft action program, and detailed responses had not as yet come through. A substantial number of communists are evidently not satisfied with the result of the election of leader of the Russian Communist Party at the congress.

One hundred primary organizations have stated that they will not join such a party, and in general many link their choice with the personality of the first secretary, forgetting that there are collective organs of leadership in the party, and one has to orientate oneself primarily towards it and its program.

But this position only provoked a fresh wave of questions at the meeting: What are we taking to the congress? The proposed draft program is very unfinished, and the congress could become just routine elections of the party central organs and restrict itself to that. Is that not what the party bosses are calculating on, to complete the organizational registration of the party, but what will it give the party that is new?

The meeting's focus of attention switched to the draft program of Russian communists. The published variant, in the view of (?Sinkov), first secretary of the Leninskiy Rayon CPSU Committee, is a step backwards in comparison with the decisions of the 28th congress. Latsis, first deputy editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST, voiced sharp criticism of the document, stressing in particular its vagueness in the question of the transition to the market.

Other delegates were even more categorical: to go out to the masses with such a program means jeopardizing the existence of the very party. There were also speeches of a different order: the machine has been set in motion, and it will scarcely prove possible to stop it, but it is necessary to go to the congress if only to voice one's position and try to defend it.

Moscow communists at today's meeting gave an accurate assessment of the work of the Delegates Club in the runup to the 28th CPSU Congress. The new horizontal structure, like the permanently functioning conference of secretaries of the city's primary organizations, has made it possible to take democratic account in the draft documents of the 28th Congress of the views of hundreds of thousands of rank and file party members, and in August the club's working groups had continued intensive work on elaborating proposals for the second stage of the Russian Congress and the capital's party conference.

Time will not wait: The CPSU's authority in society, delegates believe, will depend primarily on the pace of renewal of the party itself.

Yakovlev Critcizes Russian Communist Party

PM2808153890 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 34, 2-9 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by chief editor Yegor Yakovlev: "I'm Turning in My Mandate"]

[Text] I ought to first address the Communists of the Leninskiy District of Moscow who elected me a delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress and a delegate to the Russian Party Founding Conference. The second concluding session of the founding congress of the Communist Party of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] will open on September 4. I will be unable to take part in it.

The Russian Communist Party congress will inevitably end in the conservatives having their revenge. They dream of crushing all that shows thought and life and of turning the party into a detachment of conformists to block the country's exit from the crisis, a profound crisis verging on a national catastrophe. No, I'm not overreacting. I've become convinced of this by the party's first secretary Ivan Polozkov.

But time is running out. It is running out on Polozkov too. The market system will soon become a fact. The number of people he looks to for support will drastically diminish, i.e. those people who, in his words, "rely on their pay packets" unwilling to work and unable to work for themselves and for the common good. Polozkov will not stay on in the party if free thinking triumphs there. Hence the fateful question: to be or not to be a member. It is so desirable to be. And Polozkov goes into action. He publicizes his programme in many publications, especially Pravda.

What course of action is left to me, a Russian Communist, in line with his programme?

First I am supposed to resist the economic reform in whose favour the 28th CPSU Congress voted after a long bitter debate. Polozkov has doubts about the need to switch to a market system and confidently predicts that the transition will be a disaster for working people. Instead he proposes having ration cards: guaranteed supplies of the prison camp type. An amazingly novel idea for us, isn't it? If one abides by it, our present way of life should be preserved where people swap goods on the quiet, where swappers jostle around the trough with scarce goods—all so that there would be no swappers on the future, as yet unrealized, market.

Second, I am supposed to rally to the banner of those still engaged in the class struggle. Even today our society appears to consist of a "working people" and a bourgeoisie who oppose each other. Hence the party's educational mission: to teach the working people "to distinguish between their real defenders and demagogues". After the working people have become enlightened, the party can go back to "the pure sources of its ideology" and then it will receive "powerful support from the working grassroots". Thus society will get what we started with 70 years ago, never having learned any lessons. Polozkov seems to like the idea. And he proves what he wants to prove by ascribing to Marx what Lenin said and by ascribing to Lenin what wasn't in his character: the desire to renounce his monopoly over power (PRAVDA, August 6, 1990). Polozkov is in a great hurry to produce a 12th edition of "Questions of Leninism". The book went through 11 editions under Stalin.

Is this enough to draw conclusions about the final stage of the congress of the Communist Party of Russia? The first secretary isn't everything, one may object. I beg your pardon, disregarding the first secretary—such a thing has never occurred in the history of my party. One may object: why make haste, the congress may not share Polozkov's views? I reply: the congress elected Polozkov first secretary even if by a tiny margin. This despite all the arguments and warnings that this would be an unpardonable mistake. Such a congress, composed of such people, cannot but bless Polozkov's programme.

The idea of founding the Russian Party came from the party apparat, its most conservative wing. The apparat has gotten what it bargained for. Leaders of the Leningrad pilot congress of the Russian Communist Party—about whose dogmatism more than enough has been written—have announced that they are discontinuing their activities and have asked that there should be no more references to them as a separate party. According to Polozkov, "they are happy with the basis and the procedure for the creation of the Russin Communist Party".

Certain other people are also happy. Aleksandr Kulakov, the executive secretary and chairman of the Russian National-Patriotic Front, and a "Pamyat" ideologist, said in his Interfax interview that he regards the Russian Communist Party "positively": "We support it as a government structure, although we understand that only a few schizophrenics speak seriously about communism today." This nationalistic patriot said Polozkov was the least of all possible evils.

After nearly 40 years in the party, I was elected a delegate to its congress. Nevertheless I am turning in my mandate. And I turn to my fellow party members:

We must act!

Kalugin's Rival in Krasnodar Given Official Post

LD2908205290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] The struggle between Kalugin and Gorovoy for the deputy's mandate to the USSR Supreme Soviet for Krasnodar national territorial constituency No. 15 has heated up. Gorovoy, former deputy chairman of the Krasnodar Agricultural and Industrial Union, was elected to the post of chairman of the kray executive committee today. His supporters believe that now his

chances to become a deputy have increased considerably, although in the first round he gained fewer votes than his major rival did.

In response, former KGB General Kalugin's support group organized a meeting in the kray center tonight.

RSFSR Obkom Head on 'Healthy Conservatism'

90UN2705A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with A. Ponomarev, first secretary of the Belgorod Obkom, by special correspondent Yu. Makhrin in Belgorod; date not given: "'I Am For Democracy and Discipline'"]

[Text] I have heard it said many times: Ponomarev is one of the "first" among the old guard. He came to head the oblast party committee [obkom] in 1983. He is 59 years old. He is an agrarian specialist—in terms of his birth, education (a graduate of the Agricultural Mechanization and Electrification Institute), and the essence of his life (chief engineer of a machine-tractor station, rayon soviet executive committee chairman, chief of the oblast soviet agriculture administration...), and he is a candidate of agricultural sciences.

Aleksey Filippovich is a member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR people's deputy.

[Makhrin] Aleksey Filippovich, when the Belgorod delegation returned from the 28th CPSU Congress, about what did people ask first and foremost?

[Ponomarev] "What did you decide?"—this is what Belgorod people ask the congress delegates primarily. When the question is put by communists, explaining is easier: The delegates describe what is new in the new CPSU Rules. They were, after all, published a week after the congress ended, and the delegates were the first to bring news of the main document of the forum. This is the reaction. Having thanked the delegates for having formulated so democratic a law determining the life of our party, the comrades sigh: "If only it had been adopted about two years ago! A completely different atmosphere would have been established both in the CPSU and in society. Late here also."

I share this opinion. The party's renewal, which began on the threshold of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, could have been consolidated there. Alas, many communists had the impression that they had simply been given an opportunity at the conference to let off steam. Change, which had long been awaited, did not come. I would hear: This is the intention and design of the conservatives. Indeed not, this was the handwriting, I quote from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA of 25 July of this year, "of first-rate strategists, conceptually minded...." The strategy was to curb the communists' sincere aspiration to a renewal of the CPSU and its rules and program, slow down this invigorating process somewhat and afford the radicals, in quotation marks, of course, an opportunity to score points in criticism of what was obsolete and dogmatic in the party. It was successful! Which true party members regret.

I repeat, discussion of the new rules is with the communists. But nonparty people asking the same question: "What did you decide?" refer not to our intraparty affairs and problems but the concept of the country's socioeconomic development and an improvement in the life of the people. And here things are for our delegates very difficult even. You understand, there was no in-depth discussion at the congress of specific urgent matters. None! Take the transition to the market. It is essential. But what kind of transition? Abalkin's? Bunich's? Will we defend the worker against the inevitable spontaneity upon transition to the market or will we abandon him to the will of fate? So what kind of market does the country's Communist Party support? What strategy and tactics does it, the ruling party, propose for extricating the fatherland from the economic crisis? We delegates have nothing to tell people.

[Makhrin] Forgive me, but does not this sequence of questions contain a stereotypical, ancient approach to congress decisions which represented the typical model of the command-administrative system? In PRAVDA's mailbag also there are many letters with such questions: "Why was this congress, which cost the state millions, necessary! What has it given in practice other than: 'The congress declares... appeals... emphatically advocates... believes... supports?'" I. Ivanishchenkova, a resident of Barnaul asks this.

[Ponomarev] Well, we are of like mind. I have no nostalgia for the historic, I say this word with irony, decisions of congresses, which were reminiscent more of government directives. The CPSU must not, of course, command. However, the highest party forum should have clearly and unambiguously expressed the communists' position on the ways of the economy's emergence from its tailspin.

You see, our Russian style of rushing to extremes was, in my view, reflected here. In the past the CPSU became a party of monopoly power, now we have grabbed at an alleged life-saving notion—it must become a party of ideas. However, what is needed for realization of the ideas, how to commission them—no one is saying anything of sense about this. And this is no accident, I believe.

Whoever aspires to convert the CPSU into a pure ideas party is concealing his true intention—placing a delayed-action bomb beneath the party since those which have already exploded—both on the outside and from within—have not led to its removal.

No, it is not a party of romantic dreams which the people recognize but a party of action—energetic, rational, efficient. Deeds, only actual deeds, will lead to a revival of the authority of the CPSU. If it is the party of the working people, its sacred cause is, consequently, protection of the interests of the working people.

[Makhrin] You do not consider yourself a conservative?

[Ponomarev] But by what signs and criteria, please, are communists divided into conservatives, the left, the right, and so forth? You cannot say? Then I will. I see that if a communist is devoted to his party, sincerely confesses its principles and does not consent to compromise in what is most important, following the Democratic Platform people, for example, who reject the very communist idea, he is unfailingly branded a rightwinger and conservative. And if pharisees are called the left, the press will beat the drum for them.

Generally, I am for healthy conservatism, it is this that is an obstacle to the unthinking razing of everything "to the foundations, and then...."

Addressing the general secretary, I once said at a meeting in the CPSU Central Committee: "Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich! Why in speaking of the development of democracy and glasnost are we afraid to speak of discipline? Why are we not calling for party discipline, state discipline, supply discipline?" Since then democrats, if these judges may be called this, have put me down on the list of conservatives. Since I am for democracy and discipline, I am, consequently, a conservative. Since I am, you understand, for order, which the Russian people have always valued, I am a conservative. Since I call for discussion of action, of action until our heads ache, of action once more, of our people, I am a conservative. But were I to speak about democracy and not call for discipline, I would then be of the left.

[Makhrin] You are often accused of conservatism for, I quote, "a one-sided preoccupation with kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] and a rejection of other, more progressive forms of management."

[Ponomarev] Yes, I am firmly convinced that the basis for a solution of the food problem is public agricultural production concentrated at large-scale specialized complexes furnished with brand-new equipment. The muzhik with a pitchfork and spade will not feed the country!

At the same time we Belgorod people do not deny, on the contrary, we are promoting in every possible way the development of peasant homesteads. An example: In 1982 just 3,900 tons of livestock and poultry and 34,000 tons of milk were purchased from the population. This was the ceiling, so to speak. But in the last five years the oblast's resources have been replenished annually by almost 35,000 tons of meat and more than 108,000 tons of milk. Farm leaders have accommodated the peasant, are assisting in the construction of farm buildings, are allocating poultry, livestock and feed, concluding contracts.... That is, the peasant farm is under the roof of the sovkhoz and kolkhoz.

In the same period the kolkhozes and sovkhozes increased the sale of meat products almost twofold, of milk, 188 percent, grain, 145 percent, beetroot, 174 percent, sunflower, 190 percent....

[Makhrin] I, a Muscovite, was stunned by Belgorod's provisions stores. I have run into people from Kharkov here, who are envious also: "These people know how to live!"

[Ponomarev] Well, it is some way to go to abundance. As far, however, as the figures which I have just listed are concerned, they are, in addition, the result of the close cooperation of town and country. Various loaders and equipment for animal husbandry are now being manufactured at industrial enterprises.... Whereas in the 10th Five-Year Plan the overall upsurge in the amount of work done by the industrial enterprises for the country amounted to 12 million rubles [R], the figure annually now is R60 million. In addition, the townspeople render the field operations almost R30 million of assistance. Construction subdivisions, which build housing in the countryside, have been organized at the enterprises.

The supply of gas to the villages is one further direction of the solution of social programs. Earlier a maximum of 80 km of gas supply lines was completed annually, but in the last four years 450-500 km have appeared annually.

[Makhrin] Nonetheless, different forms and methods of production in the countryside have been developing in the country in recent years....

[Ponomarev] They are developing with us also. Thus more than 90 percent of output is produced by leasing outfits. This was the first step. The second: making the kolkhoz member a coowner of the fixed capital at the kolkhoz's disposal. And this is now being introduced on two kolkhozes—"Pravda" and "Zarya Kommunizma." This way—elimination of the alienation of the producer from the means of production—lies the future.

[Makhrin] Ponomarev is opposed to the private farmers?

[Ponomarev] No, excuse me, Ponomarev is precisely "for" them. I am merely for everyone intelligently doing, not chasing after the fashion. Some people paint an idyllic picture: just anyone comes to the village, he is given land, a ramshackle old barn—a private farmer is born, a master of the land, tomorrow there will be abundance in the stores. First, people are not, alas, queuing up for land. And even were they, it, the benefactress, could not be entrusted to just anybody. It is being entrusted to intelligent, industrious people, from peasant stock, not cabdrivers—I know of one such example of the "peasantization" of Muscovites.

[Makhrin] Name the Belgorod private farmers.

[Ponomarev] Certainly! Valeriy Mikhaylovich Vakulenko in Borisovskiy Rayon, Valeriy Iosifovich Ponik in Belgorodskiy Rayon. The latter raises hogs, the first took 300 hectares of land for his family. And I, as chairman of the oblast soviet, took pains to ensure that he did not go to simply bare land. He needs equipment, he needs farm buildings, he needs help in dressing the land with fertilizer—doing a good spraying at least once. He needs credit....

I have met with the farmer and help and defend him.

[Makhrin] Against whom?

[Ponomarev] Against human envy and timorousness.

[Makhrin] In citing the figures of the oblast's economic development you spoke so emotionally, as if carrying on an argument by correspondence.

[Ponomarev] You are right, I was. A speaker declared recently at a meeting in Belgorod: Ponomarev has messed up the oblast. He did not gather any applause, it is true, but you also, I dare say, have tried on this demagogic wave, having harnessed it, to ascend and enhance your rating.

[Makhrin] This year almost 2,500 Belgorod people have left the party ranks. Who are they?

[Ponomarev] First, I do not consider the diminution in the numbers of the CPSU a tragedy. I believe that if there are not 20 million party members but fewer by half, but devoted, dependable, veritable communists, the CPSU will be the stronger.

Seventy communists handed in their party cards, dissatisfied with the progress of perestroyka, 170, on account of disagreement with party and government policy. There are among these many who are convinced that the Lenin Party has been betrayed and that, following the 28th congress, the onslaught against it of antisocialist forces has intensified.

I would note that whoever was predicting a split in the party erred—the outflow from it since the congress has declined sharply here.

Some 720 persons have joined the party in 1990. I may say one thing: These are fighters! Their influx means a cleansing of the CPSU also.

Kalmyk Branch of Russian Democratic Party Formed

PM2908131190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by B. Yakovlev from Elista under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Travkin Insists..."]

[Text] The constituent conference of supporters of the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR], in which representatives of the republic's capital and a number of rayons participated, has been held in Elista. The result was the creation of the Kalmyk branch of the DPR. The birth of the new organization was blessed by Tuvan Dorzh, lama of the Kalmyk Buddhist Temple, and Father Zosima, father superior of the Temple of the Holy Cross.

"Democratic Russia" party leader N. Travkin, who spoke at the conference and answered numerous questions from those present, expressed categorical disagreement with some participants' proposal to delete references to an anticommunist party from the program documents discussed at the conference. He confirmed that the party's objective is to struggle against Communists' power and communist ideology by parliamentary means.

The auditorium of the "Rodina" Movie Theater, where the conference was held, was almost full, but only 80 people wanting to become members of the new party participated in the voting. An interim board of the party branch was elected and includes representatives of the Kalmykia People's Front. Its task is to prepare a congress of the Kalmyk Branch of the DPR. Republic Narcological Clinic Chief Physician E. Varlamov was elected board chairman. The conference adopted a resolution and an appeal to the people of Kalmykia.

Tuva Interfront Chief Discusses Russian Exodus

PM2908133190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Interview with K.A. Kaadyr-Ool, leader of the Tuva Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Interfront, by Senior Lieutenant R. Boykov: "Tuva: The Political Situation: A Small Card in a Big Game?"; place and date not given; first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] Many people in Tuva know Kaadyr-Ool, candidate of philological sciences and senior academic staffer of the republic's Scientific Research Institute of Language, Literature, and History. He is leader of the autonomous republic's Interfront. He is well known for a number of things. But today this man enjoys greatest prestige perhaps among the young.

At the request of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's editorial office, our nonstaff correspondent Sr. Lt. R. Boykov talked with the Interfront leader.

[Boykov] Kaadyr Alekseyevich, why has the Tuva people's front headed by you changed its name to Interfront? Does this signify a change in policy?

[Kaadyr-Ool] At the present stage we face a new task—consolidating the representatives of all the nationalities living in Tuva. But the aims remain the same—the rebirth of the national culture and national self-consciousness of the Tuvinian people.

[Boykov] But how do you view the situation in the republic? You will agree that it cannot be called normal.

[Kaadyr-Ool] I have always said and still say that the situation at the present moment is not as critical as some observers believe. There are signs of a worsening of interethnic relations but that is due primarily to the inactivity of the authorities in the struggle against the crime wave which has swept the republic. As a result the Russophone population is leaving Tuva. This process must undoubtedly be stopped. Not by force, of course, but by a package of organizational, legal, and educational measures. Everyone will lose from division and confrontation—both the indigenous inhabitants and those for whom Tuva has become their home. Although

the Tuvinians' feelings can and must be appreciated—the Tuvinian people have been short-changed in many ways. The destruction of the national culture is largely the fault of the republic's leaders in past years who used the slogan of internationalism even to ban popular festivals. Or take social questions—there has been much injustice there, too.

[Boykov] It is no secret to anyone that if the exodus of Russian specialists across the Sayan mountains continues there will be serious problems in many spheres of the republic's life. After all, those leaving are skilled workers, engineers, doctors, and teachers... What will happen to Tuva then?

[Kaadyr-Ool] That's a tough one. All I know is that this situation must be prevented at all costs. Who will benefit from it? The Tuvinians? The Russians? Now it is clear to everyone: the absence of skilled national cadres is a calamity for the republic. Why were we unable to train them over so many years? One reason is that young people were sent to higher educational establishments under the quota system without consideration of the real needs. Thus there is another distortion in nationalities policy to be rectified.

[Boykov] In your view, Kaadyr Alekseyevich, how can the situation be stabilized and the exodus of people from the republic be stopped?

[Text] [Kaadyr-Ool] First of all the government must announce guarantees of people's safety and pitch all its forces into the struggle not only against crime but also the conditions which create crime. There must be an economic and educational reform, the elimination of unemployment, and an improvement in the people's well being. After all, the Tuva ASSR still has the lowest living standard in Russia. But when there is confidence in the future, prospects, and security no one will leave the republic. And of course it is necessary to inculcate in people a sense of friendship among the peoples. Both Russians and Tuvinians must be convinced that they cannot manage without one another.

However, the republic's present leadership is doing virtually nothing to achieve that. I do not understand its position. Perhaps some people gain from that: The ship of the Union and indeed of Russia is being rocked powerfully and certain forces wanted to make little Tuva a card in a big game. After all, in many respects the situation is being fuelled artificially.

[Boykov] One last question. Many republics and national movements are now campaigning for the creation of their own armed formations? Could that happen in Tuva?

[Kaadyr-Ool] My opinion is unambiguous: There is no need for that. There is a Tuvinian proverb which runs: "Where streams merge, you get a river. When people unite, you get strength." If we divide the army into units, what good will come of that?

Chelyabinsk City Soviet Considers Unrest

LD2908141990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] There was a difficult and far from straightforward conversation about the lessons of the mass disturbances in Chelyabins at a sitting of the City Soviet of People's Deputies Presidium. Those gathered, evaluating the situation, indicated that the noticeable lowering of people's standard of living, the shortage of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, accumulated youth problems and the low legal standard were the main causes of the crisis which has arisen. A principled appraisal was given of the instigatory actions by representatives of certain political forces, who tried to stir up passions even further for their own personal ends. Party and local soviet bodies, the Komsomol, and the public of the city in the Urals are paying earnest attention to practical work with young people. At the same time, it is still too early to speak of the appearance of complete calm in Chelyabinsk.

Kostroma Residents 'Bewildered' by Appeals

PM2908154190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Harvest Boycott"]

[Text] Kostroma—Statements and appeals to inhabitants of the Volga region from the local People's Front Coordinating Council abound at the summer's end. For just 10 kopeks anyone who wishes may acquire here a whole sheaf of paper laying claim to the ultimate truth.

On reading a statement it is difficult to appreciate what most disturbs the representatives of the People's Front: Whether hatred of the CPSU or the soviets which are taking power into their own hands. And what disturbs them least of all is perhaps a real concern for the harvest, the bulk of which is still far from the silos but lying in the fields. One thing is clear: Consolidation of forces during this busy time does not serve their purposes.

The leaders of the coordinating council do not call for help for the peasants in the field, but call for rallies in the city. They describe the local authorities' decisions to get the able-bodied population involved in a crusade for their daily bread as a lie and deception. These decisions are interpreted as nothing less than unlawful. Absolutely no penalties can be applied to those who do not carry them out, the front asserts. This does not tally.

The latest proclamations by the People's Front are targeted at the CPSU oblast organization and the oblast soviet. The inhabitants of Kostroma are increasingly bewildered when they read them.

Silayev Examines Check Payments for Produce

LD2908221590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The issue of Urozhay-90 [Harvest-90] checks is being introduced this year for rural workers in Russia for the sale of agricultural produce to the state. These checks guarantee the right to purchase high-demand goods in trade enterprises at retail prices. This is what the peasants are being offered by the consumer unions of Russia and by Japan.

[Correspondent V. Golubev] This exhibition of consumer goods has been arranged in Moscow by Rospotrebsoyuz [Russian Consumer Union] and the Japanese firm Nisso Boeki. [video shows exhibits] They can be purchased by the peasants of Russia who received part of the money earned while gathering in the harvest in special checks. You can now see these checks being shown to Silayev, the head of the Russian government, who visited the exhibition today. [video shows Silayev examining checks, then views of more goods] It is intended to buy 1 billion foreign-currency rubles' worth of goods like these.

[Video shows Golubev speaking to Silayev] It is great that this mass of splendid things will find their way to the heroes of our harvest through these checks that are now being issued. But the situation is that today consumer cooperatives can take only 20 percent of what they purchase abroad in the form of equipment for processing; the rest is consumer goods. The situation is that, let's say, as with the harvest, for example, we cannot process the fruit and vegetables; we cannot cover the grain; it even gets to the point where we cannot even bake it, because we have old factories and plants. In Moscow, for instance, there has been no white bread for several days.

[Silayev] I do not think there should be any restrictions at all. It is necessary to buy what is essential, specifically. But, after all, I came here for a different reason. We must give effect to the Russian government's duties, and we would like to see what is on offer from our potential partners, with whom we are negotiating, in order to do everythng possible to help the peasants obtain household goods, consumer goods, clothing, footwear, and so on. But, in the final analysis, today a situation has developed in which few things reach the village or the countryside.

[Golubev] Consumer cooperatives have already been operating for over 20 years. Nevertheless, they are the only organizations in the country today that do bring something to the peasants.

[Silayev] This is an opportunity to open up our market to entrepreneurs from the West and from the East, and especially from japan, and to adopt laws—at least, Russian ones—so that they can come to us and sell their products.

[Golubev to man standing beside Silayev] You see, Mr. Tishiba, our conversation last year, in which we said that the administrative-command system hindered the development of our contacts, has today received, I think, a normal resolution and confirmation by the head of the Russian government.

[Tishiba] quite right.

[Silayev] Quite right. This is the first invitation of its kind to him. [laughter] May he bring things to our market.

[Golubev] Are you ready?

[Tishiba] Yes, I am ready.

[Silayev] Good!

RSFSR To Conclude Foreign Trade Agreements

90UF0487A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by TASS correspondent: "With Whom Russia Should Be Trading and How"]

[Text] Russia is prepared to conclude agreements on trade and economic cooperation with all countries, V.N. Yaroshenko, minister of foreign economic relations of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], declared at a press conference on 20 August in Moscow on questions connected with the basic principles of the republic's foreign economic activity.

R.I. Khasbulatov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, who spoke, observed that the Russian leadership was, as he put it, extremely concerned at the reluctance of the Union government to take account of the republic's legitimate interests when concluding foreign trade deals with foreign companies and has been forced to adopt measures to defend the economic bases of the sovereignty of the RSFSR. It is a question specifically of a recently concluded agreement between the USSR Government and the Swiss firm De Beers on the sale of a large consignment of diamonds and gold mined on the territory of the RSFSR. In addition, the Union government, in R.I. Khasbulatov's opinion, is displaying a reluctance to cooperate constructively with the Russians. Measures to protect the economic basis of the republic's sovereignty are therefore needed, he believes.

The idea was expressed at the press conference that for Russia's independent foreign economic activity the corresponding infrastructure is necessary since "Rosvneshtorg," which exists at the present time under the auspices of the RSFSR Council of Ministers with an annual trade turnover of 1 billion foreign currency rubles, is incapable of cooperating successfully with the constantly growing number of overseas partners. The republic already has proposals concerning the extension to it of credit totaling $5 billion and direct capital investments of the order of $50 billion.

All this has brought about the need to study questions of the establishment in the RSFSR of a Trade and Industry Chamber, a Main Customs Administration, a Foreign Trade Academy, and also the creation of stock and commodity markets. As mentioned, the republic intends joining various international organizations of exporting countries—OPEC, for example.

Some East European countries have already proposed direct trade agreements to Russia. In the event of their conclusion, the republic will not abandon fulfillment of Union government commitments ensuing from trade agreements signed earlier in respect of supplies of its products overseas. It is RSFSR enterprises, incidentally, which cater for 80 percent of Soviet exports. For this reason, it was observed at the press conference, it is necessary to distribute the Soviet Union's foreign debt among the republics in accordance with their foreign economic activity.

'Disgusting Persecution' of Makashov Condemned

PM2908153390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Sergey Zhigalov under the "Direct Link" rubric: "All-Russian Women's Conference"]

[Text] Kuybyshev—The all-Russian conference of the movement "Women For Our Children's Socialist Future" has taken place in the half-empty hall of the Volga-Ural Military District's Officers Center.

Far from all of those invited from 40 Russian cities responded to the organizers' appeal. What problems were discussed by representatives of the women's movement who came here from Moscow, Leningrad, Moldova, Yakutia, and the Baltic region?

Individual quotes give an idea of the problems touched on in the speeches: "They want to make Russia a colony of the West...," "to put our people through the meat grinder of capitalism," "a criminal program of 400 or 500 days," "the mass media have been turned into a tool of terror...."

There was no debate at the conference. They tried to remove the sole dissenting woman from the Officers Center with the help of a militia detachment.

Appeals to the delegates of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party Constituent Congress and to the republic Supreme Soviet were adopted at the conference. There was also a resolution on the mass media which "slander historic achievements," and IZVESTIYA was named. There was "categorical condemnation of the disgusting persecution" of General A. Makashov and of N. Andreyeva, the latter of whom sent the conference a greetings telegram.

Convicted Servicemen Grab Weapon, Flee Detention

PM2908095990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6

[USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Report: "Escape From Disciplinary Battalion"]

[Text] During the night, at a USSR Defense Ministry disciplinary battalion in Leningrad Oblast, four convicted military servicemen snatched a Kalashnikov automatic rifle and 60 cartridges from a guard and fled. On the same day one of the criminals was caught by a military detail. The search for the other men and the weapon continues.

Western Republics

Belorussian KBG Investigating Treason Case

LD2808195590 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belorussian 16 Aug 90 p 3

["In the KGB of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic"—headline]

[Text] As was reported in the mass information media, the organs of the country's State Security Committee have detected several attempts by Soviet citizens to hand over to representatives of foreign special services some materials which qualify as state and military secrets.

With respect to one of them, an inhabitant of Grodno Oblast, criminal investigation is about to be completed.

Taking into account that this has aroused interest in many readers, the BELTA correspondent turned to P. Heydich, chief of a public relations subdepartment of the Belorussian KGB.

"Indeed, a criminal case against a former member of the military from Belorussia, arrested during an attempt to hand over to a foreign national secret materials, is being conducted by the investigation department of the USSR KGB," he said. "The operation is being carried out by workers of the republic's KGB jointly with their colleagues from Moscow. Unfortunately, the case in question shows that for the sake of personal profit a person even resorted to inflicting harm to the interests of the state and to the defense capacity of the country."

We have no intention of wrapping the details of this case in secrecy. As soon as the court investigation is over, its details will be reported to our readers.

Belorussian KGB Deputy Shirkovskiy Interviewed

PM2908155190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report by A. Leonidov: "Big 'Fish' Has Been Caught"]

[Text] Minsk—"We have not come to justify ourselves but to describe our work." With this sentence E. Shirkovskiy, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian KGB, opened the first press conference in many years with journalists from Union and republican publications. It was organized at the initiative of the state security staffers.

We asked Eduard Ivanovich to answer the questions which are coming in to the PRAVDA Belorussian correspondents' center.

[Question] Truly the time of reckoning has come: Many people are interested in the economic effectiveness of your department.

[Shirkovskiy] Not everything can be measured in rubles... Nonetheless, here are a few figures. In the past two years we have gathered and channeled into the national economy to be acted upon a large volume of information of a scientific and technical nature. With your aid we have prevented the attempts by individual foreign firms to "palm off" on the republic poor-quality equipment and obsolete documents worth a total of about 5 million rubles [R] in hard currency. At the same time the cost of blatantly overpriced contracts offered by "tycoons" to some Belorussian enterprises "thinned down" by R73 million.

In the sphere of our observation are establishments with complex manufacturing methods presenting a danger in the event of accidents. Just recently over 300 preludes to possible accidents have been discovered and averted. Paramount importance is also attached to the protection of defense secrets.

[Question] Are there examples of the interception of the activity of foreign intelligence services in Belorussia?

[Shirkovskiy] In the past two years we have localized the intelligence activity of a number of foreign special services and uncovered several of their envoys. I shall note that recently so-called own-initiative spying has become particularly dangerous. For instance, this spring an inhabitant of the republic who had collected extensive information comprising state secrets was arrested red-handed.

[Question] What is the situation on the border?

[Shirkovskiy] Since 1988 in conjunction with the border guards over 50 violators have been arrested, 109 people with forged documents have been discovered, and a considerable quantity of firearms and about 20,000 rounds of munitions of various types have been confiscated.

It is notable that smuggled goods are becoming increasingly dangerous. I have in mind the shipment of new types of arms to the USSR.

Belorussia's Hostikov on Interregional Contracts

LD3008085490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Belorussia has for the first time concluded direct bilateral agreements with a number of republics for cooperation and reciprocal supply of products without interference from the center. The new processes which are emerging during the preparations for transition to a market economy were discussed at its session by the Presidium of the Belorussian Council of Ministers. Our correspondent Petr Makritskiy reports:

[Makritskiy] Moldova, the Transcaucasian republics, Kazakhstan, and Estonia have already signed treaties with Belorussia during working visits by official delegations from the Belorussian Council of Ministers. Talks on new, direct, mutually beneficial relations are continuing with the Ukraine, Russia, Uzbekistan, and our Baltic neighbors. Understandably, these also have their difficulties, for this is a completely new, lively, and creative matter. The presidium of Belorussia's Council of Ministers devoted its session to giving meaning to economic relations on an inter-republican level. It follows from the discussion that the first steps are being made on the way to genuine sovereignty for Belorussia, not just on paper, and to creation of an interregional market.

After the session, I invited Nikolay Nikolayevich Kostikov, deputy chairman of the Belorssian Council of Ministers, to an interview:

[Begin recording] [Kostikov] Today, our republic has the processing industry as its base, and of course we are in a quite difficult situation in ensuring that there are raw materials. For that reason, interregional contracts guarantee the supply of raw materials for us and ensure the 100 percent delivery of contracted output on our part. That is the basis for development of the economy, making a profit, and solving issues of consumer goods and technical products. On the basis of these decisions, the development of the machine-building industry will provide the prospect for development of the whole of our republic. We cannot say today that the republic possesses great potential for competitive technological products. No, we have difficulties here, and in this period of time, two or three years, we must raise the technical potential of our enterprises, the republican and the Union ones, in order to attain the level of competitive products.

[Makritskiy] Treaties between republics will, in the final analysis, result in the Union treaty, and so who should conclude this Union treaty: the republics and the center, or the republics with each other?

[Kostikov] Naturally, with our republic's contribution to the Union, we would like to see a strong Union. Today, the Union is putting the finishing touches to its treaty. As you know, it has been decided that the treaty should be in force by 1 September. We have no grounds today to say that either the interregional treaties or the Union one might be inoperative. We make contracts on the basis both of interregional treaties, and products which are controlled by the Union State Order we make with the Union. These products are controlled by State Order; we know this. It means products such as cement, metal, and timber are controlled, and so our contracts will be both direct, with territories and other republics, and with the Union. [end recording]

Commission Meets With Chernobyl Strikers

90UN2612A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russia 27 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by A. Gotovchits, SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA correspondent in Gomel: "Chernobyl Football?"]

[Text] **We have already reported that the Gomel city strike committee conducted a mass civil demonstration called "A March for Survival" along the route from Gomel to Moscow. Participants in the march met in the Kremlin with the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. Ryzhkov.**

On instructions from the chairman, Gomel was visited by a commission made up of 17 workers of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Gosplan [State Planning Committee], the Ministry of Public Health, and the Ministry of Trade, as well as other central departments. It was headed by V. Voznya, the chief of the division for cleaning up after the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Extraordinary Situations.

The commission worked for three days with members of the strike committee and deputies of the city soviet. Significant disagreements were revealed. As it turns out, the guests support the 35-biological-roentgen-equivalent concept for safe survival in a territory polluted by radionuclides, a concept that has been rejected by Belorussian scientists. They are trying to place the specific demands of the labor collectives (recall that they contain 12 points) in the category of wishes for the Union departments or else to put them off indefinitely.

The cochairman of the city strike committee, S. Bondarenko, shares his observations: "One gets the impression that the commission's task is to pass off as many as possible of the labor collectives' demands. We are not having all the demands fully met."

The cochairman's opinion about the visit of the guests from the capital is shared by many other members of the strike committee and deputies of the city soviet. Therefore my question to the deputy leader of the Moscow group, a head specialist of the apparatus of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Extraordinary Situations, V. Sokolov, was how he felt about this opinion.

"If we may continue to talk in sports terms," Vladimir Aleksandrovich said, "our main 'football player' is V. Doguzhiyev, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for extraordinary situations. We have been sent to study the demands, to analyze the situation, and to suggest variants of possible decisions.

"Comrade Doguzhiyev is flying to Gomel. There will be the regular round of meetings with the strike committee at which they should finally consider the demands of the city labor collectives for reducing the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe to a minimum."

Attempt To Smuggle in Gas, Weapons Thwarted

PM2908100190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report by A. Leonidov: "Brought in From Abroad"]

[Text] During an inspection of a train at the Brest Oblast checkpoint on 27 August a cache was discovered in one of the freight cars. It amazed even the experienced customs officials. Some unknown people had tried to send into our country over 60 gas pistols and around 700 gas cartridges and several dozen containers of nerve gas. And recently staffers of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic KGB Administration for Brest Oblast in conjunction with the customs service confiscated an explosive substance from a citizen of a Western country. Its destructive capacity was more than one-and-one-half times greater than that of TNT. Incidentally, 15,000 rubles were also found hidden on the foreigner's person. An investigation is now being conducted: For whom was this gift intended?

Moldavian Law on Self-Government Implemented

LD2908144590 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA in Russian 17 Aug 90 p 1

["Decision of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To bring into force the Law of the Moldova SSR "On the Government of the Republic" from the time of its adoption.

2. The government of the Moldova SSR will implement the necessary organizational changes to the structure of the executive and governing bodies in accordance with this law.

3. Ministries, state committees, and departments of the Moldova SSR are to continue exercising their powers until the organizational changes are completed to the structure of the government of the republic.

[Signed] M. Snegur, Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet chairman
[Dated] Kishinev, 5 June, 1990

Moldavian Prime Minister's 28 Jul Speech

90UN2688A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA in Russian 4 Aug 90 p 2

[Speech by Mircha Druk, prime minister of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova, at the republic Supreme Soviet session on 28 July]

[Text] I would like to dwell briefly on an incident which occurred here two days ago in front of the parliament building and on the steps of the Communist Party of Moldova Central Committee building.

I would like first to ask one rhetorical question. You are the state's legitimately elected parliament, are you not? You have appointed a prime minister and approved a government. In the shape of the government we have the executive authority, and in its framework, a ministry of internal affairs, which is headed by your former parliamentary colleague General Kostash. The gentleman minister is responsible for public order. That public order to which you aspire. That is, if the state maintains the police and its forces, then the latter has, I believe, a mandate which you have given, and it has the right to exercise this prerogative.

What do I wish to say by this? That, together with us, you should do everything possible to ensure that henceforward we do not have to resort to particular authorities and to this leader or the other of political parties and movements in cases where certain forces permit themselves ill-considered and uncontrolled actions on the streets.

A regrettable incident occurred, and we have the data and information permitting an investigation of this incident and the adoption of the necessary measures to ensure that there is no repetition. I refer to the conflict between the police and people on the street. I am not accusing anyone but wish to state that no one should speculate on what happened, certain deputies included, since I am sure that the police were defending themselves in the performance of their duty and displayed not the least aggression. Nor can I accuse the citizens. I suspect that their actions were directed by a destructive force which remained in the background. But even if the conflict arose fortuitously, spontaneously, it can in no way be justified.

Let us agree that henceforward order in the Republic of Moldova will be brought to bear by the Moldovan police headed by the minister and that they will carry out the instructions of Mr. Mircha Ion Snegur, chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Consequently, we ask all citizens to remain at their place of work and allow us, members of parliament, to make the decisions. As in any civilized country, there will henceforward be a minority and a majority in our parliament. It is not obligatory that all be unanimous and that any law be enacted unanimously, automatically, at the first attempt. We must get used to this, as I have. Some of my colleagues are even bringing actions against me, demanding a trial. But I am not, as you can see, taking offense at them and not getting into a fight. Nor am I calling on my supporters or the electorate to engage in sit-downs, stop the streetcar, and so forth. I declare that I am a patriot and have no particular affections for this party or the other. But this does not mean that I have to stop the traffic.

Let us abandon methods acceptable two years ago even. From my viewpoint, the people may come here if an appeal goes out to them from Mr. Mircha Ion Snegur, leader of the state. Let us hope that there are no such cases. But even if it happens that the state of Moldova is in danger, even then the Supreme Soviet chairman alone may appeal to the people to assemble around the parliament or engage in some actions or other in its support. But until such an appeal is made, I entreat you, dear fellow citizens, to remain at your jobs and keep calm so that there never be a repetition of what happened two days ago.

We have changed the uniform, we will have the uniform of the police of the state of Moldova, our own carabinieri. And I ask you, dear citizens, to treat the carabinieri and the police only with respect. Particularly the women, whom we saw on television to be very aggressive. Go to them with a bouquet of flowers, present it and kiss them on the cheek. I am sure they would never insult you because they are subordinate to General Kostash and the government, and the government will fulfill the laws passed by parliament. I appeal once again to political leaders and those who have acquired a taste for backstage policy pursued from particular group interests. I ask you to abandon such actions. As far as the police of the state of Moldova are concerned, they will exercise their functions without leniency toward anyone. All who disturb public order will be punished by law. Shouting is another matter: Cry "get out!" or "long live!" to your heart's content, but on the sidewalk, not on the thoroughfare. And do not impede the business of either the government or parliament, not to mention the operation of municipal transportation and traffic.

That is what I wanted to say. I hope that members of parliament will support us and that we will have no more such incidents in Kishinev, Tigin, Tiraspol, Komrat, or anyplace else on the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

Thank you for your attention.

Careerists Provoking Gagauz-Moldavian Frictions

PM2908144990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent E. Kondratov: "Southern Moldova: Tension Remains"]

[Text] Kishinev—The situation remains extremely tense in parts of the southern Moldovan steppes, where a week ago, at their congress, the Gagauz deputies proclaimed the formation of a republic independent from the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

An unconstitutional encroachment on the integrity of the republic's territory is how the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium described the decisions of the congress, which caused a storm of indignation among the Moldovan population. Since these actions come under a particular article of the republic's Criminal Code, Internal Affairs Ministry and Moldovan prosecutor's office investigators have been sent to the southern areas. Eight deputies' groups have also gone there and have had hundreds of meetings with the Gagauz population.

What conclusions have they come to as a result of these meetings? Here is the opinion of two chairman of parliamentary standing commissions, who headed deputies' groups.

[A. Plugaru] I saw what confusion the deliberate misinformation, absurd rumors, and misinterpretation of the processes taking place in the republic has caused in people's minds. Extremists are drumming it into Gagauz peasants' heads that it is not the policy that has been conducted in our country that is to blame for all their troubles, hardships, and lack of rights, but the Moldovans, who, moreover, allegedly intend to leave the USSR and reunite with Romania in a state where the Gagauz will be mercilessly oppressed. The Moldovans are being told that the Gagauz have made a deal with Moscow, just to prevent the Moldovan Republic from acquiring genuine autonomy. Unfortunately, the media have been pouring fat on the flames.

Going round the villages, I have realized that there is no interethnic antagonism in the south. But there are the political ambitions of ethnic careerists, who, for the sake of office, are prepared to cause a clash between two peoples who have lived peacefully side by side for so many years. No way could my people tolerate that abusive, violent act—the proclamation of yet another state within a state that has only just acquired sovereignty; a state in which thousands of Moldovans could suddenly find themselves without rights in their own homeland against their wishes.

[V. Berlinskiy] It was noticeable that the bulk of the people do not want to be at odds with the Moldovans. The Gagauz complain of poverty and they are unhappy with their life, but none was able to cite instances of oppression by the Moldovan people. Yet this is the main trump card used by the local extremists, who called at rallies last Sunday in Komrat and Vulkaneshty for civil disobedience, for the disbandment of the militia and prosecutor's office, the creation of "security detachments," and the rejection of everything Moldovan—language, flag, citizenship.

Fortunately, among the authoritative ethnic leaders there are reasonable people, people's deputies, who know what bitter fruits the seeds of interethnic enmity can produce. They know that the problems of self-determination and development of their ethnic group cannot be resolved by means of violence and that there is only one way—dialogue and parliamentary decisions.

However, it is reported from the southern part of the republic that the voices of the radical extremists are nevertheless becoming increasingly audible. Having seized the Komrat radio center, they are pressing for a boycott of the investigators' work. They took material evidence off one of them. They decided to throw the local prosecutor, who was urging observance of the law, out of the rayon.

However, the temporary confiscation of weapons from the population—mainly hunting rifles—is taking place peacefully. "There has been no violence so far and no other particularly dangerous excesses either," I learned on Sunday night from Moldovan Internal Affairs Minister I. Kostash.

One must hope and believe that common sense will prevail. The government's main concern at this time is to to avoid provoking even the slightest interethnic clash, because it would then be far harder to achieve concord.

Leading Ukrainian Papers' Status Changed

PM2908110190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Official" rubric: "What Is the Party Press in the Republic To Be Like?"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has examined the question of changes in the mass media system.

In view of the creation of their own publications by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers the status of the newspapers RADYANSKA UKRAINA and PRAVDA UKRAINY will change as of 1 January 1991. The issuing of these publications as joint organs of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers will cease. New press organs of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, for which the names RADYANSKA UKRAINA and PRAVDA UKRAINY are retained, will be created on the basis of those newspapers' editorial offices. The status of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee newspapers SILSKIYE VISTI and RABOCHAYA GAZETA and the theoretical journal KOMMUNIST UKRAINY remains unchanged.

Ternopol Offices Picketed in Religious Conflict

LD2808191490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1628 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Ternopol 28 Aug (UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent)—Workers from the Ternopol Oblast Soviet of Peoples' Deputies and the Oblast Executive Committee could not get into their offices when they arrived at work this morning. The seventh and eighth floors of the administrative building had been held since the evening by representatives of the Greek Catholic Church, and the local organizations of Rukh and the Ukrainian Republican Party [URP].

The day before that about 200 Greek Catholics, headed by Kuzemko, people's deputy of the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], and Demidas, secretary of the branch of the URP (names unknown), picketed the administrative building of the oblast soviet, demanding that the decision of its last session dealing with the settlement of interreligious conflicts should be changed.

The oblast procurary reported that the persons who had seized the administrative premises and paralyzed the work of the apparatus of the oblast soviet had by their actions violated the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine SSR of 20 April 1990 "On Responsibility for Actions Directed Against Public Order and Citizens' Safety." The instigators of this action will be called to account.

Caucasus

Further Reportage on State of Emergency in Armenia

Events of 29 Aug Detailed

LD2908200890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Mayak editorial office has received from the press center of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] detailed information about what has happened in Armenia. We offer it for your attention.

On the night preceding 29 August the situation in the republic sharply deteriorated. At 0100, 30 unknown persons in an unmarked vehicle ran over Armenian Supreme Soviet Deputy Isfanyan, who has been hospitalized.

From 0400 to 0600 in the morning in various parts of Yerevan—mainly in places where the staff of the Armenian National Army [ANA] is located—gunmen fired at detachments of volunteers of the Armenian Pan-National Movement [AOD]. As a result three volunteers were wounded.

At 0730 representatives of the AOD, Armenian Supreme Soviet Deputy Ayvazyan and activist Mikhaylyan, went to the staff on Alevardyan Street for talks with leaders of ANA aimed at ending the bloodshed. However, as they approached the staff of the AOD representatives, they were killed.

At 0900 on 29 August the Armenian Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution declaring an emergency in the republic and the introduction of a curfew in Yerevan from 2200 to 0600. On local television and radio a statement was made by Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, describing the activity of a number of armed formations as criminal and illegal. He also announced that the government of the republic had instructed the MVD, KGB, detailed forces of Internal Affairs, and detachments of AOD volunteers to take measures to disarm all informal armed groups in Armenia. The Supreme Soviet has asked them by 2200 on 29 August to give up all their weapons and evacuate the premises they have seized. If the said demands are not carried out, measures envisaged by the law will be taken.

In some districts of Armenia, disarming of the ANA groups is already taking place. Thus in Ashtarak Rayon, militia forces have disarmed ANA units and six persons have been detained.

Guerrilla Groups Clash

PM2908144190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by I. Andreyev: "Yerevan. Guerrillas Have Fired on Parliamentarians"]

[Text] On the morning of 29 August Lieutenant General M. Kolesnikov, chief of staff of the troops in the sector, gave IZVESTIYA the details of the events of last night.

"An armed clash between combat formations of the AOD (Armenian Pan-National Movement) and the ANA (Armenian National Army) took place late in the evening of 28 August at a Yerevan gas station," Mikhail Petrovich said. "I would remind you that the AOD has sworn [allegiance] to the republic's new Supreme Soviet, unlike the ANA, which has refused to obey the authorities and hand in its weapons.

"One of the AOD commanders, a certain Chaush, was killed during the clash at the gas station and one of the organization's activists was wounded. Unfortunately, the latest reports from Yerevan do not contain more detailed information and we do not even know the initials of these people. All that is known is that the fight by the gas pumps developed into massive clashes between AOD and ANA formations. According to as yet unverified information, the warring sides attacked each other's headquarters.

"The AOD and ANA leaders ordered their local formations to assemble their forces and move them toward Yerevan. Army subunits, which are refusing to intervene in the 'showdown' between the two armed formations, have been placed on red alert.

"According to the latest information," Lt. Gen. M. Kolesnikov said in conclusion, "the clashes between the guerrillas went on throughout the night and are continuing."

As Lieutenant General B. Smyslov, deputy commander of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops, told IZVESTIYA at around noon Moscow time on 29 August, the evening clash at the gas station was started by ANA representatives.

During the morning of 29 August AOD representatives went unarmed to the ANA headquarters in Yerevan to peacefully find out the reasons and circumstances of yesterday's conflict, but they were fired upon. According to preliminary information, a deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet who was walking among a group of AOD parliamentarians was wounded.

A firefight between ANA and AOD formations flared up on Erebuni Square at 0400 hours and in 26 Baku

Commissars Street between 0500 and 0600 hours. Three AOD representatives were killed here; in turn, the AOD took hostage three ANA guerrillas, including E. Gevorkyan, deputy commander of the organization.

According to our information, Boris Konstantinovich continued, the ANA leadership has given orders to assemble forces and move them to Yerevan. L. Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, appeared on republic radio and television an hour ago.

Questions connected with participation in these events by Internal Troops and the Army in accordance with the laws on the legal regime for states of emergency and on the duties and rights of Internal Troops are being studied.

Army Steps Up 'Terrorist Acts'

LD2908161290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1419 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] We have reported in our bulletins that the internal political situation has sharply deteriorated in Armenia. We have just received a report from our correspondent Koryun Khumaryan. Here he is:

[Khumaryan] I had intended to devote my report today to the parliamentary stand-off between Communist deputies and representatives of the Armenian Pan-National Movement and of a number of other public organizations, which has arisen in the last few days in connection with the Communist Party of Armenia's decision to rename the major republican newspapers KOMMUNIST and KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN. These newspapers previously came out under the banner of the Communist Party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the Supreme Soviet of the Republic. After the being renamed, the banner of the Supreme Soviet and of the Council of Ministers disappeared, which aroused a sharply negative reaction from the democratic wing, which was planning to put forward a draft decision today condeming what they see as a willful and illegitimate act.

But overnight events have sharply changed the situation in the republic, such that the morning session of the Supreme Soviet was entirely devoted to these—in my view—tragic events, which were reported by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Recently, he said—because of the adventuristic, illegal actions of the armed organization the Armenian National Army—the situation in the republic has deteriorated, which has naturally led to activization on the Azerbaijani side. Events in Noyemberyan and in Shaumyanovskiy Rayons of Azerbaijan, the events that have taken place in Getashen today, and the closing off of the Kazakh-Yerevan gas pipeline and the Kazakh-Idzhevan rail line are direct consequences of this antinational policy.

The development of events shows, Levon Ter-Petrosyan stated, that the Armenian National Army not only does not intend to cease its dangerous activity, but is also resorting to new and more impudent steps. Last night armed detachments of the Armenian National Army carried out openly terrorist acts. A vehicle bearing no licence plates ran over republican People's Deputy Rafael Isfanyan, who was taken to the hospital with serious injuries. A squad of defenders of the law guarding a gasoline pump in the 26 Kommisarov Rayon of Yerevan was shot at. Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet, said that this attack was led by the commander-in-chief of the Armenian National Army, Razmik Vasilyan, and the not unknown Mayis. Three people were injured during the shooting. Members of parliament who came to the headquarters of the Armenian National Army to demand an explanation of the reasons for the attack on the gasoline pump were also shot at near the entrance to these premises by militiamen of the Armenian National Army, as a result of which Geraznik Mikhaylyan, one of a squad of law enforcement officers, and Viktor Ayvazyan, deputy of the republican Supreme Supreme, were seriously injured. Both died shortly afterwards in the hospital.

Proceeding from what I have talked about, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia adopted the following decision: To declare a state of emergency and a curfew from 2200 to 0600 in the territory of Armenia; to disband the so-called Armenian National Army; and to call upon militiamen of the Armenian National Army to surrender what weapons they have, the premises which they occupy, and stolen motor vehicles by 2200 on 29 August. Militiamen who respond to this call will be free of criminal liability; those who do not obey the decision of the Supreme Soviet after the set deadline will be arrested and punished according to the full strictness of the law. The republican Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Internal Troops under its command, the KGB and militia, and the law enforcement detachments that have been drawn into it have been given the task of implementing the decision of the Supreme Soviet. That is, the state of emergency and the curfew will be put into effect solely by the republic's forces. I would like to stress this last thing, understanding the anxiety of the mothers whose sons are doing their service in Soviet Army and Internal Troops units located on our republic's territory. Such is the disturbing news from Armenia up to now.

State of Emergency Noted

NC2908194190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] ARMENPRESS and TASS correspondents have reported the following:

The members of the Armenian parliament laid flowers on the seat of one of their colleagues, Viktor Ayvazyan, before the morning session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet opened. Ayvazyan was the victim of an insidious attack by the armed groups of the Armenian National Army as he was on his way to hold talks with them.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ter-Pertrosyan briefed the people's deputies on the incident which took place last night. The attack produced other victims as well.

The Supreme Soviet has described these insidious activities as efforts to aggravate the situation in the republic and adopted a decision to declare a state of emergency in all parts of Armenia and impose a curfew from 2200 until 0600 as of today. The decision also calls for the immediate disbanding of the military organizations of the Armenian National Army, the surrender of weapons, and the return of vehicles that have been seized and buildings which have been occupied.

[Name indistinct] said that those who do voluntarily comply with the Supreme Soviet's call to surrender weapons will not be held responsible.

The Armenian Supreme Soviet entrusted the implementation of the decision to the republic's internal affairs organs, the republic's committee for state security, and the people's militia groups, which are trying to maintain law and order.

Supreme Soviet Views Situation

NC2908163590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The evening session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet was opened by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet. He said:

[Begin Ter-Petrosyan recording] The state of emergency declared in Armenia today at (?1108) has gone into effect. All those measures which were envisaged in our decision are being implemented. The internal forces subunits attached to the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry, the committee for state security, and the personnel of the territorial guards amalgamated into the militia structures have been placed on full alert. These are the forces with which we have to implement the decision we have adopted. I assure you once more that these forces are entirely sufficient to enforce the measures we have decided on. [end recording]

Next to speak was Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers.

[Begin recoerding] [Manukyan] A staff committee has been set up under my leadership for the normalization of the state of emergency. The staff consists of 10 people. (?I want to inform you) about the steps taken: First, [word indistinct] the responsibilities of internal affairs have temporarily devolved upon [name indistinct], who is now responsible for the Internal Affairs Ministry. The city is completely surrounded by subunits belonging to the Internal Affairs Ministry. The city center has been placed under control. Negotiations are continuing with the leadership of the Armenian National Army as our aim is not bloodshed. [Words indistinct] we have given a deadline of 2200 for the the organization to disarm, yet our aim is not to shed blood. For that reason, negotiations are continuing with the leadership of the Armenian National Army. Vazgen Sargisyan [chairman of the parliamentary Defense and Internal Affairs Commission and commander of the territorial defense forces of the Armenian Pannational Movement] is conducting the negotiations on our behalf. The (?isolated) detachments have already expressed their readiness to surrender their arms, come under parliament's jurisdiction, and be merged into those subunits which have been formed under the structure of the Internal Affairs Ministry and thus become members of the republic's defense subunits. At the same time, negotiations are under way—and they are already producing results—to obtain an (?optimum) amount of weapons for those subunits which are defending the republic and which are under the control of the Internal Affairs Ministry. In addition, talks are also under way with Moscow to stabilize the situation in Getashen [Armenian-inhabited village in Azerbaijan to the north of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]. As you already know Azerbaijanis—members of the Azerbaijani Popular Front—have entered Getashen and have made some illegal arrests while the army did not interfere. [passage indistinct] However, the situation remains tense. [passage indistinct]

Let me add that the workers of the republic have received our decision to declare a state of emergency with satisfaction. The people have even proposed that we go unarmed to those young people and persuade them to lay down their weapons. We call on our people to remain calm and stay off the streets as much as possible. We are sure that our negotiations will achieve results. We hope that the leadership of the Armenian National Army will show enough sense so as not to endanger any innocent citizens or members of their detachments. A deadline has been set for 2200 in the evening. I repeat: Those who voluntarily hand in their arms before this deadline expires will be free of criminal responsibility. Numerous letters have already been received from the collectives where measures are being taken to create workers tribunes to defend their installations. Besides that, letters have been received from certain collectives which call on the people to defend the decision adopted by the Armenian parliament. To familiarize you with some of them, I now give the podium to Ara Saakyan, secretary of the Supreme Soviet.

[Saakyan] Esteemed deputies, [words indistinct] hundreds of phone calls are coming in to the Supreme Soviet Presidium—which is working round the clock—from various regions. They are expressing readiness [to defend the decision]. For example, members of the scientific council of Yerevan State University, in responding to the 29 August 1990 decision of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet on the normalization of the complex sociopolitical situation and ensuring the security of the poplation, have said: We are ready to work for its immediate realization within the legal framework. We are sure that the Armenian Republic's parliament will take all measure to avert confrontation and resolve the

antagonism through peaceful means. We call on the republic's population, in particular the young people, to demonstrate restraint, recognize the danger of this historic moment, and act with responsibility. The birth of independent statehood in Armenia (?is endangered). You who do not submit to the parliament—wittingly or unwittingly you have pointed your gun against your own people to the joy of our foes. Come to your senses.

[Signed] Academician Sergey Ambardzumyan, chairman of the council, and Minasyan, secretary of the council

Here is yet another appeal: Taking into consideration the situation in the republic, Masis factory workers express their trust in the parliament and support its decision and call on the armed detachments in Armenia to submit to the parliament immediately. We will consider those who refuse to do so traitors to the fatherland. The Masis factory collective is ready to [words indistinct] and calls on all enterprises to support to the parliament.

[Signed] Yegishyan, director, [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Friends, the first session of the first convocation of the Armenian Republic will continue deliberations tomorrow.

Baku Radio on Fighting

NC2908201790 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Report by TASS correspondent (Kolbushev) from Armenia]

[Text] A clash with automatic weapons took place in a district of Yerevan at 0520 on 29 August and later continued near the movie theater in the city center. Initial reports said that the armed groups of the Armenian National Army attacked the headquarters of the armed groups of the Armenian Pannational Movement. The fighting lasted about an hour.

Such a development was only to be expected. The Armenian National Army is the main force opposed to the Armenian Pannational Movement. Political opposition has gradually turned into military confrontation. This is because both the Armenian National Army and the Armenian Pannational Movement have their own armed groups. Although the members of the Armenian Pannational Movement complied with the demands of the republic's leaders, the military groups of the Armenian National Army refused to accept the authority of the legal administration and lay down their arms.

Hiding behind the national struggle, criminal groups which have been shamelessly [word indistinct] their fellow countrymen and stirring up trouble along Armenia's border with Azerbaijan are among the various armed groups in the Armenian National Army. This is the result of the dispute in Armenia today: A curfew has been imposed in Yerevan and a state of emergency has been declared in the republic. The morning session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet today declared that the Armenian National Army was illegal and must be disarmed and disbanded.

The Armenian internal affairs minister has instructed that all roads leading to Yerevan should be closed to prevent new armed groups from reaching the city. Local law enforcement organs and units of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have been assigned to implement this decision. Meanwhile, the situation in the other rayons in Armenia has created serious cause for concern. The seizure of arms and attacks on militia workers and military units are continuing. Air and (?ground) reconaissance operations have indicated that the Armenian terrorists have (?moved their bases) in the Armenian rayons bordering Azerbaijan. Eight hail guns have been discovered in the hills of Noyemberyanskiy Rayon, while an arms depot has been discovered in Idzhevanskiy Rayon. A number of special units of the Internal Troops have been dispatched to these rayons. Consequently, the situation has become extremely tense.

What will happen tomorrow?

250 Army Members Surrender

LD3008074390 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT 30 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—Personnel at the Armenian National Army (ANA) headquarters, consisting of some 250 armed fighters, voluntarily surrendered its arms as a result of an operation carried out by the Armenian Interior Ministry last night.

ANA staff leaders led by Vasilyan were detained. An investigation is being carried out, an official at the Soviet Interior Ministry Press Centre told TASS.

After Wednesday's armed sorties by the ANA, in which a Armenian parliamentary deputy and a member of a voluntary law enforcement team were killed, a state of emergency was imposed in Armenia and a curfew in Yerevan.

The Armenian parliament ruled that ANA armed groups be immediately disbanded. It was announced that those who voluntarily turn in their weapons would not be punished.

More on Army Disbanding

NC3008132990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1200 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Excerpt] The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet met this morning. Both the deputies and the workers of the republic were waiting impatiently for the morning session. With intense anxiety the people were awaiting the initial results of the Supreme Soviet decision which was needed so much and was made yesterday on introducing a state of emergency and curfew throughout Armenia.

From the information provided by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet, it was evident that those results have been satisfactory. The leadership of the Armenian National Army has been understanding of the decision made, and after the negotiations, it evacuated its premises in the city center at midnight and has handed in most of its arms and ammunitions. Various Armenian National Army detachments operating in a number of the republic's regions have also handed in their weapons and have disbanded themselves.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan said that in line with the decision, those who voluntarily surrender are being set free with no criminal proceedings being instituted against them. However, since the entire territory of the republic is not yet cleared of the armed detachments of that organization, the state of emergency and curfew are still in force. According to the statement just made by the leadership of the Armenian National Army on Armenian television, the Armenian National Army has completely disbanded itself.

The morning session also resumed debate on the formation of the parliamentary standing commissions which had been adjourned because of the tension in the republic. [passage omitted]

State of Emergency To Remain

LD3008113290 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Yerevan 30 August TASS—"The leaders of the Armenian National Army (ANA), which provoked the declaration of a state of emergency in the republic on Wednesday, surrendered to republican authorities on Wednesday night and are now in the building of the Armenian Council of Ministers," Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan told the morning session of parliament today.

Ter-Petrosyan said that the ANA leaders are now preparing an appeal to all members of this organisation, declaring its self-disbandment and calling upon them to surrender to the authorities.

Detachments of ANA militants have already begun laying down arms in several areas of Armenia, according to Ter-Petrosyan. He told deputies about the details of the fulfilment of the parliament's resolution on disarming the ANA.

He said the efforts concentrated on the ANA headquarters in downtown Yerevan, where about 200 militants had gathered. A group of deputies set out there to clarify the organization leaders' intentions.

By 22:00, the beginning of the curfew, the ANA leaders did not seem likely to obey the resolution and attempted to dictate conditions.

They demanded that the militants be let go together with weapons and equipment in their possession, allegedly, "to be able to join new legal military structures subordinated to the government and parliament."

Deputies to the republican parliament, who conducted talks with the ANA, insisted on the unqualified fulfilment of the parliamentary resolution and gave them extra time for reflection until 00:15.

About 01:00, the militants began to vacate the headquarters building but, in the process, some 50 militants managed to flee with weapons and ammunition, Ter-Petrosyan said.

"We do not wish to spill blood, we stand for a peaceful settlement of the conflict," Ter-Petrosyan emphasised. He said that not a single shot was fired outside the ANA headquarters. Militants turned in a large amount of weapons and transport facilities. All militants who obeyed the resolution were allowed to go home.

"Only the first item of the resolution was implemented. The main property is yet in the hands of militants and the settlement of the issue will take several days," Ter-Petrosyan stressed.

He said that the curfew and the state of emergency in the republic would remain in force until all provisions of the parliamentary resolution were implemented.

"During next month, Armenian Interior Ministry agencies are to organise a well-coordinated activity to protect public order and citizens," Ter-Petrosyan said. He voiced hope for the support of the Armenian people and for parliamentary consensus.

KGB Head Views Situation

PM2908210790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed interview with Armenian KGB Chairman Major General V.G. Badamyants, part of a full-page feature headed: "Special Issue. Armenia: Deputies Shot At"]

[Text] [Interviewer] What is the situation, Valeriy Georgevich?

[Badamyants] In a word, complex. Confrontation between the Armenian National Army [ANA] and parliament has made the situation tense. People have been seriously wounded in armed clashes, but the information is only provisional.

[Interviewer] Have any weapons been surrendered, do you know?

[Badamyants] Yes, although only the odd one. I would add that some ANA people have said they are leaving the organization, and some armed formations affiliated with the ANA have expressed an intention to submit to the republic parliament's demands. You would not call it a split; there is ferment, yes. In my view, the fact that the majority of the republic's population reacted positively to the declaration of a state of emergency has been a

contributory factor. People are tired; they want a quiet life under the protection of the law, and the most sober-minded section of the ANA must realize this.

[Interviewer] It is 1800 hours; the ultimatum expires in four hours' time. What then, Valeriy Georgevich?

[Badamyants] I hope we can avoid bloodshed. We will do all we can to avoid it. But if decisive measures have to be taken, neither subunits of the Soviet Army, nor Internal Troops—apart from those that are directly subordinate to the republic Internal Affairs Ministry—will participate in operations to seize weapons. It is my hope that we will deal with the situation ourselves.

[Interviewer] What about Yerevan?

[Badamyants] The situation in the city is uneasy, but there have been no particular incidents. The building which houses the ANA headquarters and the area adjoining it have been blockaded by militia subunits and, partly, by armed detachments set up under the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry with the combat equipment that has been attached to them—armored transporters.

Roads leading to Yerevan have been blocked off and the republic Council of Ministers building and other government institutions are being carefully guarded.

Major General Surkov on Events

PM2908211590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed interview with Major General Mikhail Semenovich Surkov, chief of the Yerevan Garrison Political Department, part of a full-page feature headed: "Special Issue. Armenia: Deputies Shot At"]

[Text] [Interviewer] Did you foresee events developing in this way in Armenia?

[Surkov] To be frank, all that has happened is no revelation as far as I am concerned. It was going that way, really, and we warned the Armenian Supreme Soviet that it would end badly. There were too many weapons around and the weapons were bound to be used, and they were. Now I think everyone can see how dangerous armed formations are, even when created with the best intentions.

[Interviewer] Does the Army intend to intevene in the conflict?

[Surkov] The Army is ready, but we cannot jump the gun. I cannot make a decision of that importance. At the moment we are just guarding airfields and other important facilities. The quarters where soldiers' families live are under heavy guard. The Army has not used weapons yet. I would hope that reason will eventually prevail.

Azerbaijan Reacts to Incidents on Armenian Border

Supreme Soviet Views Situation

LD2908162990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Today's republican Supreme Soviet session did not begin with the proposed debate on the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] draft for the republic's economic independence. Instead, the agenda's first item was the issue of Armenian terrorists' armed incursions on the border with the Azerbaijan SSR. Noting that subunits of the Soviet Army and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops are doing much to ensure the security of the republic's regions bordering Armenia, the speakers stressed the need to adopt exhaustive measures to impose order.

Progress of work on the bill on the republic's economic independence was also discussed at the session. Certain changes in its administrative-territorial structure were adopted, and other questions were also examined.

KGB Chief Outlines Tension

LD2908165190 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Baku August 29 TASS—Although Azerbaijani districts bordering on Armenia are relatively calm, tension remains, Azerbaijan's KGB chief V. Guseynov told TASS.

Several days ago, 15 hail guns and a launcher were discovered on Armenian territory near the Azerbaijani settlement of Alibeyli in Tauz district and several villages of Kazakh district, he said.

There are reports that the population of border villages, where the guns were discovered, were evacuated beforehand, Guseynov said.

A similar evacuation took place a week ago in Armenia's Novemberyan district on the eve of the intensive shelling of villages in Kazakh district of Azerbaijan.

Rumours are being spread that there is a large number of unregistered weapons, perhaps some 14,000, in Azerbaijan, Guseynov said.

"I believe that the sources of this rumour are using an old and well tested method, blaming a neighbour in order to justify their own illegal actions. This is being done to destabilise the situation in Azerbaijan and in the whole region," he said.

Moscow Seen as 'Slow To React'

LD2908190590 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT 29 Aug 90

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondents Aflatyn Amashov and Gekkhekkhanum Tagiyeva]

[Text] Baku August 29 TASS—The main issue on the agenda of the Azerbaijani parliament's session is the attack by Armenian militants on Azerbaijan's border. The report on the issue was delivered by parliament chairman Elmira Kafarova.

Deputies said that the accumulation of Armenian militants all along the border with Azerbaijan illustrated their aggressive intent. Deputies believe that the Soviet Government and competent bodies were slow to react.

They believe Moscow did not take prompt effective measures to prevent the formation of illegal armed units on Armenian territory and their disarmament. In essence, a well equipped army has been launched in the neighbouring republic, it was noted at the session. The army is currently being legalised by the Armenian parliament, despite the fact that it seized the arms illegally.

There is now open aggression against sovereign Azerbaijan, a member of the Soviet Federation, it is no longer just an interethnic conflict, deputies said.

Parliamentarians approved the address of Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov to Union republics' parliaments, calling on them to curb the aggression. Noting that Soviet Army and Interior Ministry units are doing a lot to ensure the security of districts bordering on Armenia, deputies noted the need to restore order.

The Azerbaijani parliament demanded the cancellation of all anti- constitutional acts adopted by Armenia on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region and decisions aimed at escalating confrontation and legitimising illegal armed units in Armenia.

The parliament also outlined measures to protect Azerbaijan's sovereignty, borders and territorial integrity, and ensure the security of residents of the republic's districts bordering on Armenia.

The session discussed the course of work on the constitutional law of Azerbaijan on the republic's economic independence, confirmed the republic's procurator-general and elected Azerbaijan's Supreme Court and people's judges.

'Illegal' Armenian Base Discovered

NC3008121290 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] KGB has disclosed that according to the information received by the Azerbaijan SSR KGB Social Relations Center, the (?training) and [word indistinct] base of one of the illegal combatant units, which are made up of 1,200 men and based around Zarkend and Sariyagub towns, which are 12 km to the (?east) of (?Tagukhi) town in Vardenisskiy Rayon, has been discovered. It is believed that these are the units of the Armenian National Army.

This information has been conveyed to the USSR and Azerbaijan SSR Ministries of Internal Affairs. The necessary measures are being put into effect. The situation in our republic's rayons, which border Armenia, is under control. However, the situation continues to be complex.

Buffer Zone Proposed

LD3008125290 Mosow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Azerbaijan has advocated setting up a 10-kilometer buffer zone on the border with Armenia. The aim of this is to prevent terrorists penetrating the territory of Azerbaijan.

Ringleaders in Azerbaijan Cotton Theft Jailed

LD2808091490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] We begin with some news from Baku, where the trial in the so-called Shamkhorskiy case has ended at the Supreme Court of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. Under the examination was a case of especially large-scale theft at cotton reception centers and the Akstafa Cotton Works in the republic's Shamkhorskiy Rayon. The activity of the criminal group lasted from 1979 to 1982. Over this period, 20 rubles million was stolen from the state by means of fraudulent accounting, the forging of documents, and other crimes. The organizer of the criminal group was (Veliyev), and former first secretary of the party rayon committee, and (Mukhtarov), director of the Akstafa Cotton-Ginning Works, was one of its most active participants.

For four years, 13 cotton-sowing collective farms of the rayon handed over, in accordance with false documents, nonexistent quantities of raw cotton to reception centers, and the latter, in turn, handed it on to the cotton works. As a result of the machinations, over 41,000 tons of cotton was fraudulently accounted for. (Veliyev) has been sentenced to 14 years in prison for the crime and (Mukhtarov) to 18 years. Other participants in the group have also received punishment.

'National Accord' Union Formed in Georgia

LD2908222190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1941 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Summary] Correspondent A. Balyavskiy reports from Tbilisi on the constituent congress of the Union of National Accord and Revival of Georgia [Soyuz Natsionalnogo Soglasiya i Vozhrozhdeniya Gruzii], noting that all inhabitants of Georgia, regardless of their nationality, party adherence, or faith, all those who recognize common national moral ideals, may join the union.

The aim of the union, Balyavskiy says, is to outline scientifically developed concrete ways to overcome

today's crisis situation, to struggle to achieve the complete sovereignty of Georgia, to revive its economy, science, and culture, to ease the tension in the republic's political and ethnic lifes and affirm high moral ideals.

The congress adopted the rules and program of the union.

Professor Valerian Advadze, USSR people's deputy, was elected chairman of the board of the union.

National, Popular Unity Parties Formed in Georgia

LD3008110490 Moscow World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 30 Aug 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program; report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] It has been announced that another two parties have been formed—the National Party and the Party of Popular Unity. An INTERFAX correspondent also reports on a split in the People's Front of Georgia, which was formed at a council session of the People's Front. It is assumed that the radical section of the People's Front will take part in the forthcoming elections in an alliance with the Roundtable Association of Opposition Forces. The liberal section of the People's Front, on the other hand, is, according to information, ready to set up an alliance with the Constitutional Liberal Tendency. It also itends to begin talks with organizations of a liberal nature. A Democratic Georgia electoral alliance is in the final stages of being formed in the republic. It will be an association of small national parties occupying national-reformist positions.

Central Asia

Veterinarians Reproached After Anthrax Outbreak

PM2908121590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Ryabushkin under the rubric "Direct Link": "Anthrax Outbreak"]

[Text] Frunze—In Kirghizia's Panfilovskiy Rayon 11 people have contracted anthrax.

"A resident of the village of Erkin-Say had murrain in his livestock," B. Moiseyev, republic deputy minister of health, said. "Some of the meat was sold to neighbors, and the rest went to the local sausage shop. Those who fell ill were mainly people who dressed the animals. The diagnosis: external-type anthrax, which we are treating. The seat of infection could be an old cattle burial site, but it has not yet been found. All measures have been taken to localize the outbreak of this disease, and, in particular, the sausage shop has been destroyed."

For the umpteenth time it is necessary to speak about "specialists of the veterinary service." Their irresponsible attitude to their official duties and, at times, the formal issuing of certificates do not, unfortunately, give the population a guarantee that such an outbreak will not recur.

Tajik Supreme Soviet Session Ends 29 Aug

LD2908210390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 29 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The session of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet completed its work today in Dushanbe.

[Correspondent M. Nikulin] A tense and creative atmosphere prevailed for eight days during the session's sittings. It confirmed once again that the present republican parliament is not a gathering of people just there for the sake of appearances, but of people who are businesslike, creative, thinking, and concerned for the republic and the whole country. This was shown by the heated arguments and debates on every item on the session's agenda, and there were almost 30 of them.

Deputies adopted, at a first reading, drafts submitted for examination of such laws, so vital for the republic today, as those on leasing, ownership, local self-government, and local management. After comments and additions are submitted, these laws will be presented for public discussion and then they will again become the subjects of examination by parliamentarians.

At the session the Tajik SSR was proclaimed a sovereign, multinational state. Henceforth, the Tajik SSR will be independent in foreign economic relations. The declaration of the republic's state sovereignty, adopted at the session, notes that the constitution and laws of the Tajik SSR enjoy priority on its territory. The legislative enactments of the Union will come into force only if they are not to the detriment of the republic. The declaration also notes that the Tajik SSR guarantees all citizens and stateless persons, residing on the republic's territory, regardless of their origin, nationality, language, political views, and religious beliefs, all the rights and freedoms envisaged by the constitutions of the Tajik SSR and the USSR and in generally recognized norms of international law.

The session has closed, but the standing committees and commissions are continuing to work on creating new legislative acts aimed at raising the economic, and cultural level of the Tajik SSR. [video shows general views of session in progress and speakers]